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TEMPLE, SIR W.

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Essay I.

ON

POPULAR DISCONTENTS.



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Miscellanea.

THE THIRD PART.

CONTAINING

- I. *An Essay on Popular Discontents.*
- II. *An Essay upon Health and Long Life.*
- III. *A Defence of the Essay upon Antient and Modern Learning.*

With some other Pieces.

By the late
SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE, Bar.

Published by Jonathan Swift, A. M. Prebendary of St. Patrick's, Dublin.

L O N D O N,
Printed for Benjamin Tooke, at the Middle-Temple Gate in Fleet-street. 1701.

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THE THIRD PART

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The Publisher to the Reader.

THE Two following Essays, Of Popular Discontents, and Of Health and long Life, were written many Years before the Author's Death: They were Revised and Corrected by himself; and were designed to have been part of a Third Miscellanea, to which some others were to have been added, if the later part of his Life had been attended with any sufficient Degree of Health.

To the Reader.

For the Third Paper, relating to the Controversie about Antient and Modern Learning, I cannot well Inform the Reader upon what Occasion it was writ, having been at that time in another Kingdom; but it appears never to have been finished by the Author.

The Two next Papers contain the Heads of Two Essays intended to have been written upon the Different Conditions of Life and Fortune; and upon Conversation. I have directed they should both be Printed among the rest, because I believe there are few who will not be content to see even the First Draughts

To the Reader.

*Draughts of any thing from
this Author's Hand.*

*At the End I have added a
few Translations from Virgil,
Horace, and Tibullus, or ra-
ther Imitations, done by the Au-
thor above Thirty Years ago ;
whereof the First was Printed
among other Eclogues of Virgil
in the Year 1679. but without
any Mention of the Author.
They were indeed not intended
to have been made publick, till
I was informed of several Copies
that were got abroad, and those
very imperfect and corrupt.
Therefore the Reader finds them
here only to prevent him from
finding them in other Places,
very*

To the Reader.

very faulty, and perhaps accompanied with many spurious Additions.

Essay

OF

Popular Discontents.

S E C T. I.

AMong several Differences or Distinctions, which curious and busie, or rather idle Men, have observed, between the Races of Mankind, and those of their Fellow Creatures; most have been by some disputed, and few by all allowed. Those chiefly insisted on, have been something peculiar in
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their Shape, Weeping, Laughter, Speech, Reason. But the Comp-trollers of vulgar Opinion have pretended to find out such a Similitude of Shape in some kind of Baboons, or at least such as they call Drills, that leaves little difference, besides those of Feature in Face, and of Hair on their Bodies; in both which, Men themselves are very different. They observe Tears (though not the Convulsions of Face by Weeping) in Stags and Tortoises, upon Approach of the fatal Knife; and that they cry, at going out of the World, as well as Men at their coming in. For Speech, They pretend to doubt, whether the divers Sounds made by Animals, may not have Diversity of Significations, as Words more articulate with us; and whether we

can

can properly judge of their Diversity, since we find so little in the common Speech of some Nations, especially those about the *Cape of good Hope*, and the Northern Parts of *Muscovy*; where they are observed to drive there Trade of selling Furs, without the use of above twenty Words, even with those that understand their Language. For the great Number of Words seems not natural, but introduced by the Variety of Passions, Actions, Possessions, Business, Entertainments in more civilized Nations, and by long course of Time, under civil Governments. Besides, other Creatures are allowed to express their most natural Wants and Passions, by the Sounds they make, as well as Men, which is all that is necessary in Speech; and none will

dispute Anger, Desire, Love, Fear, to be livelier express'd by Us, than by the Lion, the Horse, the Bull, the Buck; or Tenderneſs, more than by the Bleating of Ewes to their Lambs; or the Kindneſs of Turtles to their Mates. For Articulate Sounds and Words, we meet them in Parrots, and ſeveral other Birds; and if theirs are taught them, ſo are ours at firſt to Children; and though we uſually eſteem them in others, to be only Repetition or Imitation, yet ſome Inſtances of the contrary have been remarked in our Age; and it appears by Greek and Latin Authors, to have been believed by Antients, that certain Birds in the *Indies* were commonly known, not only to Speak as Parrots among

among Us, but to Talk and Discourse.

For Reason, that of Brutes, as Dogs, Horses, Owls, Foxes, but especially Elephants, is so common a Theam, that it needs no Instances, nor can well be illustrated, beyond what *Plutarch*, *Ælian*, *Montagne*, and many others, have curiously written upon that Subject; nor can any Man's common Life pass, without Occasions of Remark, and even Wonder, upon what they may see every day of this kind. So that of all those Distinctions mentioned, and usually produced, there is none left unquestioned by the curious, beside that of Laughter; which cannot, I think, or at least I know not to have been disputed, being proper and Peculiar to Man, without any Traces or Similitude

of it, in any other Creature: And if it were always an Expression of good Humour, or being pleased, we should have reason to value our selves more upon it; but 'tis moved by such different and contrary Objects and Affections, that it has gained little Esteem, since we Laugh at Folly as well as Wit, at Accidents that vex us sometimes, as well as others that please us, and at the Malice of Apes, as well as the Innocence of Children; and the things that please us most, are apt to make other sorts of Motions, both in our Faces and Hearts, and very different from those of Laughter.

But there remains yet one other Difference between us and the rest of our Fellow Creatures, which though less taken notice of,

of, in the usuall Reasonings or Enquiries of this Kind, yet seems to challenge a Rank and a Right, as due, and as undisputed as any of the others, which seems a very ill Effect of a very good Cause, a Thorn that ever grows with a Rose, and a great Debasement of the greatest Prerogative Mankind can pretend to, which is that of Reason: What I mean is, a certian Restlessness of Mind and Thought, which seems universally and inseparably annexed to our very Natures and Constitutions, unsatisfied with what we are, or what we at present possess and enjoy, still raving after something past or to come, and by Greifs, Regrets, Desires, or Fears, ever troubling and corrupting, the Pleasures of our Sences and of our Imaginations,

tions, the Enjoyments of our Fortunes, or the best Production of our Reasons, and thereby the Content and Happiness of our Lives.

This is the true natural and common Source of such Personal Dissatisfactions, such Domestick Complaints, and such Popular Discontents, as afflict not only our private Lives, Conditions and Fortunes, but even our Civil States and Governments, and thereby consummate the particular and general Infelicity of Mankind; which is enough complain'd of by all that consider it, in the common Actions and Passions of Life, but much more in the Factions, Seditions, Convulsions, and fatall Revolutions, that have so frequently, and in all Ages, attended all or
most

most of the Governments in the World.

To these, of old, *Sparta* and *Athens* have been Subject, as well as *Carthage* and *Rome*; the smaller Kingdom of *Epire* and *Macedon*, as well as the great Empires of *Ægypt* and *Persia*; the *Monarchies* *Aristocrasies*, and *Democracies* among the Gentiles, and even the *Theocracy* among the *Jews*, though one was instituted by God himself, and many of the others framed by the wisest of mortal Men. In latter Ages, *Venice* and *Holland* have been infested by these Diseases, as well as *England* and *France*; the Kingdoms of the *Moors* in *Spain*, as well as those of the *Goths*; the Christian Governments, as well as the *Mahumetan*; and those of the Reformed

med, like those of the *Roman* Faith.

This restless Humor, so general and natural to Mankind, is a Weed that grows in all Soils, and under all Climates, but seems to thrive most, and grow fastest, in the best; 'tis raised easier by the more sprightly Wits and livelier Imaginations, than by grosser and duller Conceptions; nor have the Regions of *Guiny* and *Muscovy*, been so much over-run with it, as those of *Italy* and *Greece*: The most speculative Men, are the most forecasting, and most reflecting; and the more ingenious Men are, they are the more apt to trouble themselves.

From this original Fountain issue those Streams of Faction, that with some course of Time and Accidents, overflow the wi-
fest

lest Constitutions of Govern-
 ments and Laws, and many times
 treat the best Princes and truest
 Patriots, like the worst Tyrants
 and most seditious Disturbers of
 their Country; and bring such
 Men to Scaffolds, that deserved
 Statues; to violent and untimely
 Deaths, that were worthy of the
 longest and the happiest Lives.
 If such only as *Phalaris* and
Agathocles, as *Marius* and *Cata-*
line, had fallen Victims, to Faction,
 or to Popular Rage, we should
 have little to wonder or com-
 plain, but we find the Wisest the
 best of Men, have been Sacrifi-
 ced to the same Idols. *Solon* and
Pythagoras have been allow'd as
 such, in their own and in succeed-
 ing Ages; and yet the one was
 banished, and the other Mur-
 dered by Factions that two am-
 bitious

bitious Men had raised in Commonwealths which those two wise and excellent Men themselves had framed. The two *Gracchi*, the truest Lovers of their Country, were miserably slain: *Scipio* and *Hannibal*, the greatest and most glorious Captains of their own, or perhaps any other Ages, and the best Servants of those two great Commonwealths, were banished or disgraced, by the Factions of their Countries: And to come nearer home, *Barneveldt* and *de Wit* in *Holland*, *Sir Thomas Moore*, the Earl of *Essex*, and *Sir Walter Raleigh* in *England*, esteemed the most extraordinary Persons of their Time, fell all bloody Sacrifices to the Factions of their Courts or their Countries.

There is no Theam so large and so easy, no Discourse so common

mon and so plausible, as the Faults or Corruptions of Governments, the Miscarriages or complaints of Magistrates; none so easily received, and spread, among good and well-meaning Men, none so mischievously raised and employed by ill, nor turned to worse and more disguised ends. No Governments, no Times, were ever free from them, nor ever will be, till all Men are wise, good, and easily contented. No civil or politick Constitutions, can be perfect or secure, whilst they are composed of Men, that are for the most part Passionate, Interested, Unjust, or Unthinking, but generally and naturally, Restless, and Unquiet; Discontented with the Present, and what they have, Raving after the Future, or something they want, and thereby
 ever

ever disposed and desirous to change.

This makes the first and universal Default of all Governments; and this made the Philosophers of old, instead of seeking or accepting the Publick Magistracies or Offices of their Countries, employ their Time and Care to improve Mens Reasons, to temper their Affections, to allay their Passions, to discover the Vanity, or the Mischief, of Pride and Ambition, of Riches and of Luxury; believing the only way to make their Countries happy and safe, was to make Men wise and good, just and reasonable. But as Nature will ever be too strong for Art, so these excellent Men succeeded as little in their Design, as Lawgivers have done in the Frame of any perfect Govern-
ment

ment and all of them left the World, much as they found it, ever unquiet, subject to changes and Revolutions, as our Minds are to Discontents, and our Bodies to Diseases.

Another cause of Distempers in State, and Discontents under all Governments, is the unequal Condition that must necessarily fall to the share of so many and so different Men, that compose them. In great Multitudes, few in comparison are born to great Titles or great Estates; few can be called to Publick Charges and Employments of Dignity or Power, and few by their Industry and Conduct arrive at great Degrees of Wealth and Fortune: And every Man speaks of the Fair, as his own Market goes in it. All are easily satisfied with themselves
and

and their own Merit, though they are not so with their Fortune; and when they see others in better Condition, whom they esteem less deserving, they lay it upon the ill Constitution of Government, the Partiality or Humour of Princes, the Negligence or Corruption of Ministers. The common sort of People always find fault with the Times, and some must always have Reason; for the Merchant gains by Peace, and the Soldiers by War; the Shepherd by wet Seasons, and the Plough-man by dry; When the City Fills, the Country grows Empty; and while Trade increases in one Place, it decays in another. In such variety of Conditions and Courses of Life, Mens Designs and Interests must be opposite one to another, and both

can-

cannot succeed alike: Whether the Winner laughs or no, the Loser will complain, and rather than quarrel at his own Skill or Fortune, will do it with the Dice, or those he Plays with, or the Master of the House. When any Body is Angry, some Body must be in Fault; and those of Seasons which cannot be remedied, of Accidents that could not be preventend, of Miscarriages that could not be foreseen, are often laid upon the Government; and whether right or wrong, have the same Effect of raising or encreasing the common and popular Discontents.

Besides the natural Propension, and the inevitable Occasions of Complaint from the Dispositions of Men, or Accidents of Fortune, there are others that proceed

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ceed from the very Nature of Government. None was ever perfect, or free from very many and very just Exceptions. The Republicks of *Athens*, *Carthage*, and *Rome*, so renowned in the World, and which have furnished Story with the greatest Actions and Persons upon the Records of Time, were but long Courses of Disorder and Vicissitude, perpetually rolling between the Oppression of Nobles, the Seditions of People, the Insolence of Soldiers, or Tyranny of Commanders : All Places and Ages of the World yeild the same Examples; and if we Travel as far as *China* and *Peru*, to find the best composed Frames of Government that seem to have been in the World, yet we meet with none that has not been sub-

ject

ject to the same Concussions ,
fallen at one time or other un-
der the same Convulsions of
State, either by Civil Dissentions,
or by Foreign Invasions.

But how can it otherwise fall
out, when the very *Idea's* of
Government have been liable to
Exceptions, as well as their actual
Frames and Constitutions? The
Republick of *Plato*, the Principa-
lity of *Hobbs*, the Rotation of
Oceana, have been all Indicted, and
found guilty of many Faults, or
of great Infirmitics. Nay, the
very Kinds of Government have
never yet been out of Dispute,
but equal Faults have by some or
other been laid to the Charge of
them all: An absolute Monarchy
ruines the People; one limited
endangers the Prince; an Aristo-
crasie is subject to Emulations of

the Great, and Oppressions of the meaner Sort; a Democracy to Popular Tumults and Convulsions; and as Tyranny commonly ends in Popular Tumults, so do these often in Tyranny, whilst Factions are so violent that they will Trust any thing else rather than one another.

So as a Perfect Scheme of Government seems as endless and as useless a Search, as that of the Universal Medicine, or the Philosophers Stone; never any of them out of our Fancy, never any like to be in our Possession.

Could we suppose a Body Politick, framed perfect in its first Conception or Institution, yet it must fall into Decays, not only from the Force of Accidents, but even from the very Rust of Time; and at certain Periods, must be fur-

furbished up, or reduced to its first Principles, by the Appearance and Exercise of some great Virtues or some great Severities: This, the *Florentines* in their Republick Termed *Ripigliare il Stato*; and the *Romans* often attempted it by introducing *Agrarian* Laws, but could never atchieve it; they rather inflamed their Dissentions, by new Fewds, between the Richer and Poorer sort.

There is one universal Division in all States, which is between the Innocent and Criminals; and another between such as are in some measure contented with what they possess by Inheritance, or what they expect from their own Abilities, Industry, or Parsimony; and others, who dissatisfied with what they have, and not trusting to those innocent ways

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of

of acquiring more, must fall to others, and pass from Just to Unjust, from Peaceable to Violent. The first desire Safety, and to keep what they have; the Second are content with dangers, in hope to get what others legally possess: One loves the present State and Government, and endeavours to Secure it; the other desires to end this Game, and shuffle for a New: One loves fixed Laws; and the other Arbitrary Power: Yet the last, when they have gained enough by Factions and Disorders, by Rapine and Violence, come then to change their Principles with their Fortunes, and grow Friends to establish'd Orders and fixed Laws. So the Normans of old, when they had divided the Spoils, of the *English* Lands and Possessions, grew bold

Defen-

Defenders of the antient *Saxon* Customs, or common Laws of the Kingdom, against the Encroachments of their own Kings. So of later Days it was observed, that *Cromwel's* Officers in the Army, who were at first for burning all Records, for levelling of Lands, while they had none of their own, yet when afterwards they were grown rich and landed Men, they fell into the Praise of the *English* Laws, and to cry up *Magna Charta*, as our Ancestors had done, with much better Grace.

But Laws, serve to keep Men in Order, when they are first well agreed and instituted, and afterwards continue to be well executed. Discontents, Disorders, and Civil Dissentions, much more frequently arise, from Want or Mis-

carriage in the last, than in the former. Some excellent Law-giver, or Senate, may invent and frame some excellent Constitution of Government; but none can provide that all Magistrates or Officers necessary to conduct or support it, shall be wise Men, or good; or if they are both, shall have such Care and Industry, such Application and Vigour, as their Offices require. Now were the Constitution of any Government never so perfect, the Laws never so just, yet if the Administration be ill, ignorant, or corrupt, too rigid, or too remiss, too negligent or severe, there will be more just Occasions given of Discontent and Complaint, than from any Weakness or Fault in the original Conception, or Institution of Government. For it may perhaps

haps be concluded, with as much Reason as other Theams of the like Nature, That those are generally the best Governments where the best Men govern; and let the Sort or Scheme be what it will, those are ill Governments, where ill Men Govern, and are generally employ'd in the Offices of State: Yet this is an Evil under the Sun, to which all things under the Sun are subject, not only by Accident, but even by natural Dispositions, which can very hardly be alter'd, nor ever were, that we read of, unless in that antient Government of the *Chinese* Empire, established upon the deepest and wisest Foundations of any that appears in Story.

How can a Prince always chuse well such as he employs, when Mens Dispositions are so easily mistaken

staken, and their Abilities too ?
 How deceitful are Appearances, ?
 How false are Mens Professions ?
 How hidden are their Hearts ?
 How disguised their Principles ?
 How uncertain their Humours ?
 Many Men are good and esteem-
 ed when they are private, ill and
 hated when they are in Office ;
 honest and contented when they
 are poor, covetous and violent
 when they grow rich : They are
 bold one day, and cautious ano-
 ther ; active at one time of their
 Lives, and lazy the rest ; some-
 times pursue their Ambition, and
 sometimes their Pleasure : Nay, a-
 mong Soldiers, some are brave
 one day, and Cowards another,
 as great Captains have told me
 on their own Experience and Ob-
 servation. Gravity often passes for
 Wisdom, Wit for Ability ; what
 Mea

Men say, for what they think ; and Boldness of Talk, for Boldness of Heart ; yet they are often found to be very different: Nothing is so easily cheated, nor so commonly mistaken, as vulgar Opinion ; and many Men *Come out*, when they *Come into* Great and Publick Employments ; the Weakness of whose Heads or Hearts would never have been discovered, if they had kept within their Private Spheres of Life.

Besides, Princes or States cannot run into every Corner of their Dominions, to look out Persons fit for their Service, or that of the Publick : They cannot see far with their own Eyes, nor hear with their own Ears ; and must for the most part do both with those of other Men ; or else chuse among such smaller Numbers as are most
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in their way ; and these are such, generally, as make their Court, or give their Attendance, in order to advance themselves to Honours, to Fortunes, to Places and Employments ; and are usually the least worthy of them, and better Servants to themselves than the Government. The Needy, the Ambitious, the Half-witted, the Proud, the Covetous, are ever restless to get into publick Employments ; and many others, that are uneasy or ill entertained at home. The Forward, the Busy, the Bold, the Sufficient, pursue their Game with more Passion, Endeavour, Application, and thereby often succeed where better Men would fail. In the Course of my Observation I have found no Talent of so much Advantage among Men, towards their growing great or rich, as a violent

violent and restless Passion and Pursuit for one or t'other: And whoever sets his Heart and his Thoughts wholly upon some one Thing, must have very little Wit, or very little Luck, to fail. Yet all these cover their Ends with most worthy Pretences, and those Noble Sayings, *That Men are not born for themselves, and, must sacrifice their Lives for the Publick, as well as their Time and their Health:* And those who think nothing less are so used to say such fine things, that such who truly believe them are almost ashamed to own it. In the mean time, the Noble, the Wise, the Rich, the Modest, those that are easie in their Conditions or their Minds, those who know most of the World and themselves, are not only careless, but often averse from entering into Publick Charges

Charges or Employments, unless upon the Necessities of their Country, Commands of their Prince, or Instances of their Friends. What is to be done in this Case, when such as offer themselves, and pursue, are not worth having, and such as are most worthy, will neither offer, nor perhaps accept?

There's yet one Difficulty more, which sometimes arrives like an ill Season or great Barrenness in a Country: Some Ages produce many great Men and few great Occasions; other times on the Contrary, raise great Occasions, and few or no great Men: And that sometimes happens to a Country, which was said by the Fool of *Brederode*; who going about the Fields, with the motions of one sowing Corn, was asked what he sowed; He said I sow Fools; other

t'other replied, why do you not
 ſow Wiſemen? Why, ſaid the
 Fool, *C'eſt que la Terre ne les porte
 pas.* In ſome Places and Times, the
 Races of Men may be ſo decayed,
 by the Infirmities of Birth it ſelf,
 from the Diſeaſes or Diſaffection
 of Parents; may be ſo depraved
 by the Viciousneſs or Negligence
 of Education, by licentious Cu-
 ſtoms, and Luxuries of Youth, by
 ill Examples of Princes, Parents,
 and Magiſtrates, or by lewd and
 corrupt Principles, generally in-
 fuſed and received among a Peo-
 ple, that it may be hard for the
 beſt Princes or Miniſters to find
 Subjects fit for the Command of
 Armies, or great Charges of the
 State; and if theſe are ill ſupplied,
 there will be always too juſt
 Occaſion given for Exception and
 Complaints againſt the Govern-
 ment

ment, though it be never so well framed and instituted.

These Defects and Infirmities, either natural or accidental, make way for one another; which is more artificial, but of all others the most dangerous. For when, upon any of these Occasions, Complaints and Discontents are sown among well-meaning Men; they are sure to be cultivated by others that are ill and interested, and who cover their own ends under those of the Publick, and by the Good and Service of the Nation, mean nothing but their own. The Practice begins of Knaves upon Fools, of Artificial and Crafty Men, upon the Simple and the Good; these easily follow, and are caught, while the others lay Trains, and pursue a Game, wherein they design no other

other Share, than of Toil and Danger to their Company, but the Gain and the Quarry, wholly to themselves.

They blow up Sparks that fall in by Chance, or could not be avoided, or else throw them in wherever they find the Stubble is Dry: They find out Miscarriages wherever they are, and forge them often where they are not; they quarrel first with the Officers, and then with the Prince or the State; sometimes with the Execution of Laws, and at others with the Institutions, how ancient and Sacred so ever. They make Fears pass for Dangers, and Appearances for Truth; represent Misfortunes for Faults, and Molehills for Mountains; and by the persuasions of the Vulgar, and pretences of Patriots, or Lovers of
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their

their Country, at the same time they undermine the Credit and Authority of the Government, and set up their own. This raises a Faction between those Subjects that would support it, and those that would ruine it; or rather between those that possess the Honours and Advantages of it, and those that under Pretence of Re-forming, design only or chiefly to change the Hands it is in, and care little what becomes of the rest.

When this Fire is kindled, both sides enflame it; all care of the Publick is laid aside, and nothing is pursued, but the Interest of the Factions: All regard of Merit is lost in Persons imploy'd, and those only chosen, that are true to the Party; and all the Talent required, is, to be Hot, to be Heady, to be

be Violent, of one side or other. When these Storms are raised, the Wise and the Good are either disgraced, or laid aside, or retire of themselves, and leave the Scene free to such as are most eager or most active to get upon the Stage, or find most Men ready to help them up.

From these Seeds grow Popular Commotions, and at last Seditions, which so often end in some fatal Periods of the best Governments, in so strong Convulsions and Revolutions of State; and many Times make way for new Institutions and Forms, never intended by those who first began or promoted them; and often determine either in setting up some Tyranny at home, or bringing in some Conquest from abroad. For the

Animosities and Hatred of the
D 2 Factions

Factions grow so great, that they will submit to any Power, the most Arbitrary and Foreign, rather than yield to an opposite Party at home; and are of the Mind of a great Man, in one of our Neighbour Countries, who upon such a Conjuncture, said, If He must be eaten up, he would rather it should be by Wolves than by Rats.

It imports little, from what poor small Springs, the Torrents of Faction first arise, if they are fed with Care and improved by Industry, and meet with Dispositions fitted to receive and embrace them. That of the *Prasini* and *Veneti*, was as Violent and Fatal at *Constantinople*, as that of the *Guelphs* and *Gibellins* in *Italy*; though one began only upon the divided Opinions and Affections,
about

about two publick Theatres, or Play-Houses, called the Blew, and the Sea-Green: Whereas t^other pretended the Right of Investing Bishops, to be in the Emperor or the Pope. Whatever the Beginnings of Factions are, the Consequences are the same, and the Ends too of those chiefly engaged in them, which is to act the same Part in different Masks, and to pursue Private Passions or Interests, under Publick Pretences.

Upon the Survey of these Dispositions in Mankind, and these Conditions of Government, it seems much more reasonable to Pity, than to Envy the Fortunes and Dignities of Princes or great Ministers of State; and to lessen or excuse their venial Faults, or at least their Misfortunes, rather

than to encrease or make them worfe by ill Colours, and Representations. For, as every Prince should govern, as He would desire to be governed if He were a Subject, so every Subject should obey, as He would desire to be obeyd if He were a Prince ; since this Moral Principle, of doing as you would be done by, is certainly the most undisputed and universally allowed of any other in the World, how ill soever it may be practised, by particular Men.

It would be hard to leave Princes and States with so ill Prospects and Prefages of Ease or Success in the Administration of their Governments, as these Reflections must afford them ; and therefore I will not end this Essay, without some Offers at their Safety,

Safety, by fixing some Marks like Lights upon a Coast, by which their Ship may avoid at least known Rocks or Sands, where Wrecks or Dangers have been usually observed: For, to those that come from Heaven by Storms, or the fatal Periods decreed above, all the World must Submit.

The first Safety of Princes and States, lies in avoiding all Councils or Designs of Innovation, in Antient and Establish'd Forms and Laws, especially those concerning Liberty, Property, and Religion, (which are the Possessions Men will ever have most at Heart) and thereby, leaving the Channel of known and common Justice, clear and undisturbed.

The Second, in pursuing the true and common Interest of the Nation they govern, without

espousing those of any Party or Faction; or if these are so formed in a State, that they must incline to one or other, then to chuse and favour that which is most Popular, or wherein the greatest or strongest part of the People appear to be engaged. For, as the End of Government seems to be *Salus Populi*, so the Strength of the Government is the Consent of the People; which made that Maxim of *Vox Populi, Vox Dei*: That is, the Governours who are few, will ever be forced to follow the Strength of the Governed, who are many, let them be either People or Armies, by which they Govern.

A third, is the Countenancing and introducing as far as is possible the Customs and Habits of Industry and Parsimony into the Coun-

Countries they Govern; for Frugal and Industrious Men are usually Safe and Friendly to the establish'd Government, as the Idle and Expensive are dangerous from their Humours or Necessities.

The last consists in preventing Dangers from abroad; for foreign Dangers raise Fears at home, and Fears among the People raise Jealousies of the Prince or State, and give them ill Opinions, either of their Abilities, or their good Intentions. Men are apt to think well of themselves and of their Nation, of their Courage and their Strength, and if they see it in Danger, they lay the Fault upon the Weakness, ill Conduct, or Corruption of their Governors, the ill Orders of State, ill Choice of Officers, or ill Discipline of Armies; and nothing makes a Discontent

content or Sedition so fatal at home, as an Invasion, or the Threats and Prospect of one from abroad.

Upon these four Wheels, the Chariot of a State may in all Appearance drive easy and safe, or at least not to be too much shaken by the usual Roughness of Ways, unequal Humours of Men, or any common Accidents: Further is not to be provided; for though the beginnings of great Fires are often discovered, and thereby others easily prevented with Care; yet some may be thrown in from Engines far off, and out of Sight; others may fall from Heaven; and 'tis hard to determine whether some Constellations of Celestial Bodies, or Inflammations of Air from Meteors or Comets, may not have a powerful

erfull Effect upon the Minds, as well as Bodies of Men, upon the Distempers and Diseases of both, and thereby upon Heats and Humors of vulgar Minds, and the Commotions and Seditions of a People who happen to be most Subjected to their Influence: In such cases when the Flame breaks out, all that can be done is to remove as fast as can be all Materials that are like to increase it, to employ all ways and Methods of quenching it, to repair the Breaches and Losses it has occasioned, and to bear with Patience what could not be avoided, or cannot be remedied.

SECT.

S E C T. II.

I Can not leave this Subject of Popular Discontents, without reflecting and bewailing, how much and how often our unfortunate Country has been infested by them, and their fatal Consequences, in the Miseries and Deploable Effects of so many Foreign and Civil Wars, as these have occasioned, and seem still to threaten : How often they have ruined or changed the Crown ; how much Blood they have drawn of the bravest Subjects ; how they have ravaged and defaced the noblest Island of the World, and which seems from the happy Situation, the temper of Climate, the fertillity of Soil, the

the numbers and native Courage of the Inhabitants, to have been destined by God and Nature, for the greatest Happiness and Security at Home, and to give Laws, or Ballance at least to all their Neighbours abroad.

These Popular Discontents, with the Factions and Dissentions they have raised, made way for the *Roman*, *Saxon*, and *Norman* Conquests: These drew so much Blood, and made so great Desolations in the Baron's Wars, during the Reigns of several Kings, till the time of *Edward* the Third, upon Disputes between Prerogative and Liberty, or the Rights of the Crown, and those of the Subject. These involved the Nation in perpetual Commotions or Civil Wars, from the Reign of *Richard* the Second to *Henry* the Seventh,

Seventh, upon the Disputes of Right and Title to the Crown, between the two Roses, or the Races of *York* and *Lancaster*, while the Popular Discontents at the present Reign, made way for the Succession of a new Pretender, more than any Regards of Right or Justice in their Title, which served only to cover the Bent and Humour of the People to such a Change. In the time of *Henry* the Eighth began the Differences of Religion, which tore the Nation into two mighty Factions, and under the Names of Papist and Protestant, struggled in her Bowels with many various Events and many Consequences, many fatal Effects, and more fatal Dangers till the *Spanish* Invasion in 1588. After which the Ballance of the Parties,

Parties grew so unequal in Weight and Number, as to calm and secure the rest of Queen *Elizabeth's* time : Yet before the End of Her Reign, began a new Faction in the State to appear and swell against the establish'd Government of the Church, under pretence of a further Reformation, after the Examples of *Geneva* or *Strasburgh*, from whence the chief of this Party, during the Flight or Banishment from the Cruelties of Queen *Mary's* Reign, drew their Protection and their Opinions, in Defiance of Ecclesiastical Powers and Dignities, as well as several Ceremonies, such as the Surplice, the Altar, and the Cross, with others yet more indifferent. This Faction encreased in number, and Popular Vogue or Esteem, all the
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Reign of King *James*; and seeming to look either dangerously or unkindly upon the Crown, gave occasion to the Court of endeavouring to introduce into the Church and State some Opinions the most contrary to those of the *Puritan*, or Dissenting Faction; as that of Divine Right, and thereby more Arbitrary Power in Kings; and that of Passive Obedience in the Subjects. These Oppinions or Pretences divided the Nation into Parties, so equal in Number or in Strength, by the Weight of the Establishd Government on the one hand, and the popular Humour on the other, as produced those long Miseries, and fatal Revolutions of the Crown and Nation, between 1641 and 1660. when His Majesty's happy Restoration, seemed to have given a
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final Period to all new Commotions or Revolutions in this Kingdom, and to all Discontents that were considerable enough to raise or foment any new Divisions. How they have been since revived, and so well improved; for what ends, and with what Consequences upon the Safety, Honour, and Power of this Kingdom, let those Answer either to God or Man, who have been the Authors or Promoters of such Wise Councils, and such noble Designs. 'Tis enough for me to have endeavoured the Union of my Country, whil'st I continued in Publick employments; and to have left the busie Scene, in the fullest Carriere of Favour and of Fortune, rather than have any Part in the Divisions or Factions of our Nation,

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when I saw them grown incurable. A true and honest Physician is excused for leaving his Patient when he finds the Disease grown desperate, and can by his Attendance expect only to receive his own Fees, without any Hopes or Appearance of deserving them, or contributing further to his Health or Recovery.

A weak or unequal Faction in any State, may serve perhaps to enliven or animate the Vigour of a Government; but when it grows equal, or near proportioned in Strength or Number, and irreconcilable by the Animosity of the Parties, it cannot end without some violent *Crisis* and Convulsion of the State, and hardly without some new Revolution, and perhaps final Ruine of the Government, in case
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a Foreign Invasion enters upon the Breaches of Civil Distractions.

But such fatal Effects of popular Discontents, either past or to come, in this floating Island, will be a worthy Subject of some better History than has been yet written of *England*. I shall here only regret one unhappy Effect of our Discontents and Divisions, that will ever attend them, even when they are not violent or dangerous enough to disturb our Peace; which is, that they divert our greatest Councils from falling upon the Consultations and Pursuits of several Acts and Institutions, which seem to be the most useful and necessary for the common Interest and publick Good of the Kingdom, without Regard to any Partialities, which busie the Councils as well as Actions of all factious Times.

I shall therefore trace upon this Paper the rough Draught of some such Notions as I have had long and often in my head, but never found a Season to pursue them; nor of late years ever believed it could fall out in the Course of my Life. And having long since retired from all publick Employments, I shall with this Essay take leave of all publick Thoughts.

The first Act I esteem of greatest and most general Use, if not Necessity, is, That whereas the Safety, Honour and Wealth of this Kingdom depends chiefly on our Naval Forces; a distinct and perpetual Revenue may be applied, and appropriated by Act of Parliament, for the maintaining of Fifty Men of War, with Ten thousand Seamen, to be always either at Sea, or ready in Port to Sail up-
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on all Occasions. This Navy to be so proportioned, by the several Rates of Ships, as may serve in Peace to secure our Trade from the Danger of all *Turkish* Pyracies, or sudden Insults or Insolencies of our Neighbours ; may assert the Dominion and Safety of the *Narrow Seas* ; and in time of War may with the addition of Thirty Capital Ships more, compose a Fleet strong enough, with the Blessing of God, and a just Cause, to fight a fair Battle with any Fleet the strongest of our Neighbours can pretend to set out. For I am of Opinion, That Fourscore *English* Men of War, well Mann'd, with the Conduct of good Officers, and Hearts of our Seamen, may boldly engage the greatest of them, whenever they come to a close Fight ; which the Built of our

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Ships, and Courage of our Seamen, is more proper and able to maintain, than any other Nation of the World. The Constant Charge of Fifty such Ships may amount to Six hundred thousand Pounds a Year; and if this exceeded the current Charge, the rest might be applied to repair old, or build new Ships. One half might be appropriated to this Use out of the Customs, and the other half raised by some clear Tax upon the Houses or Lands of each Parish, collected by the Church-wardens each half Year, and by them paid unto the Sheriff of each County, and by him, into the Treasury of the Navy: This should be fixed in some place of the City, and managed by three Commissioners, who shou'd upon Salaries (and without Fees) be sworn to issue it out

out to no other Uses than those above mentioned, and incur the Penalties of Treason in case they failed. Such a Tax would be insensible, and pass but as a small Quit-rent; which every man would be content to pay towards the Guard of the Seas: The Money would circulate at home among our selves, and would secure and encrease the vast Wealth of our Trade. But it is unaccountable, what Treasures it would save this Nation, by preventing so many Wars or Quarrels abroad, as we have been exposed to by our Neighbours Insolencies, upon our being disarmed or ill provided at Sea. Nor would such a Fleet, constantly maintained, be of small effect to poyse any Factions or Discontents at home, but would at least leave us to compose our own

Differences, or decide our Quarrels without the dangerous Intervention or Invasion of any Foreign Power.

The second is, That whereas the Strength and Wealth of any Country consists chiefly in the Numbers and Riches of the Inhabitants, and these are much encouraged and encreased by the Security of what Estates Men shall be able to gain, by their Industry and Parsimony, or of what Foreigners shall be desirous to bring from abroad, upon any Dangers or Dislikes of their own Countries or Governments; an Act may pass for Publick Registries of Land, by which all Purchasers or Mortgagees, may be secured of all Moneys, they shall lay out upon such Occasions. I dare hardly venture to say
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how great Sums of Money I could have sent over during my Ambassies abroad, if I could have proposed, any safe and easy ways of securing them for the Owners, whereof many were resolved to follow their Effects, if they might have had this just Encouragement. I know very well how many Arguments will be raised against such an Act, and Chiefly by the Lawyers, whose unreasonable gains arise from such Suits and Disputes as would be avoided by such an Institution. For this Reason they will ever entangle any such Proposal, not only with many Difficulties but by their Nice and subtil Reasonings will pretend even Impossibilities. I shall not here trouble my Self to answer all I have heard, and all I believe they can say

say upon this Subject, farther than by one common Maxim, That whatever has been, may be ; and since we know this to have been practised with infinite Advantage ever since *Charles* the fifth's Time, both in the *Spanish* and *United Provinces* of the *Netherlands* ; no Man can pretend to doubt, but with the same Sence, Application, and publick Intentions in our Government, It may likewise be establish'd here. There is something equivalent to it in *France*, which they call, *Vendre par Decret*, and which ends all Disputes or Pretences ; As likewise in *Scotland* ; So as 'tis a very hard Calumny upon our Soil or Climate, to affirm that so excellent a Fruit which prospers among all our Neighbours, will not grow here.

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Besides, there needs no more than to make such a Registry only Voluntary, to avoid all the Difficulties that can be raised, and which are not too captious or too trivial to take Notice of. The difference of Value between those Lands, Men should chuse to Register, and those left loose, would soon evince the Benefit of such an Act, as well as the Money it would draw from abroad.

One Argument I have met with from some Persons who always value themselves to their Country, by Jealousies of the Crown, and that is the Encrease of Offices in the King's Disposal: But rather then such a thing should fail, and if all Scruples must be satisfid, the Registers in each County may be chosen by the County Court, and their Pa-
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tents may be allways granted during good Behaviour.

Another Act which seems necessary or agreable to our Constitution, and at all Seasons both of Health and Distempers in the State, is a Provision for the better employing all those vast Sums of Moneys, which are either raised every Year in this Kingdom for the Maintenance of the Poor, or bestowed Freely upon such charitable Uses: A great part of this Treasure is now Embezled, Lavisht, or Feasted away, by Collectors and other Officers, or else so employ'd as rather to encrease than relieve the Poor; whereas if it were laid out in erecting Workhouses in each County, or in raising a Stock to find continual Work for such as should fill them (if any more Speedy way should be

be found to Build them) not only the impotent Poor might be relieved , but the Idle and Able might be forced to labour, and others who wanted it might find Employment : And if this were turned chiefly upon our Wollen Manufacture (which ought to be ever the Staple Trade of *England*, as that of Linnen ought to be of *Ireland*) it would soon improve to such a Height, as to out-sell our Neighbours, and thereby advance the Proportion of our exported Commodities to such a Degree, as would by the Return encrease the Treasure of this Kingdom, above what it has ever been known, or can ever be by other means, than a mighty over Ballance of our exported to our imported Commodities. All other Cares or Projects to bring
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in Coin or Bullion, are either Insignificant or Temporary, if not wholly vain, and sometimes prejudicial.

I have often thought, that some more Effectual way might be found out, for preventing or suppressing of common Thefts and Robberies, (which so often endanger or disquiet the Inhabitants, and infest the Trade of this Kingdom) than those which are of common use among us. The Sanguinary Laws upon these Occasions, as they are not of antient Date, so they seem not to agree with the Mildness and Clemency of our Government, in the rest of it's Composition. Besides, they deprive us of so many Subjects, whose Lives are every Year cut off in great Numbers, and which might otherwise

wise

wise be of use to the Kingdom; whose Strength consists in the Number, and Riches, and the Labour of the Inhabitants. But the worst part of this Custom or Institution is, that they have hitherto proved without Effect, and have neither extinguish'd the Humour and Practice of such Crimes, nor lessened the Number of such Criminals amongst us: Nor is it indeed to be hoped or expected they ever should, in a Nation whose known and general Character is, to be more Fearless of Death and Dangers than any other, and more impatient of Labour or of Hardships, either in Suffering the Want, or making the Provision of such Food and Cloths as they find or esteem necessary for the Sustenance of their Lives, or for the

the Health, and Strength, and Vigour of their Bodies. This appears among all our Troops that serve abroad, as indeed their only weak side, which makes the Care of the Belly the most necessary piece of Conduct in the Commander of an *English* Army, who will never fail of Fighting well, if they are well Fed. For these Reasons it may seem probable, that the more natural and effectual way in our Nation, to prevent or suppress Thefts and Roberies, were, to change the usual Punishment by short and easy Deaths, into some others of painful and uneasy Lives, which they will find much harder to bear, and be more unwilling and afraid to suffer, than the other. Therefore, a Liberty might at least be left to the Judges and
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the Bench, according to the Difference of Persons, Crimes, and Circumstances, to inflict either Death, or some notorious Mark, by flitting the Nose, or such Brands upon the Cheeks, which can never be effaced by Time or Art; and such Persons to be condemned either to Slavery in our Plantations abroad, or Labour in Work-Houses at home; and this either for their Lives, or certain Numbers of Years, according to the Degrees of their Crimes. However, the distinguish'd Marks of their Guilt would be not only perpetual Ignominy, but discover them upon Escapes, and warn others of their Danger where ever they are encounter'd.

I do not esteem it wholly improbable, that some such Laws as these forementioned, may at one Time or other be considered, at least in some Parliament that shall be at Leisure from the Necessity or Urgency of more pressing Affairs, and shall be Cool and Undistemper'd from those Heats of Faction, or Animosity of Parties, as have in our Age been so usual within those Walls, and in so great a Measure diverted the Regards and Debates of Publick and lasting Institutions to those of Temporary Provisions or Expedients upon present Occasions, and Conjunctions, in the Courses or Changes of our Government, or Distempers of the State. But there are some other Institutions I am content to
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Trace out upon this Paper, that would make me appear, either Visionary or impertinent, if I should imagine, they could either be resolved in our Age and Country, or be made farther use of, than for the present Humour of our Times to Censure and to Ridicule them: Yet I will so much expose my Self to both, as to confess, I esteem them of great Consequence, and publick Utility to the Constitution of our Kingdom, either for the present or succeeding Ages, which ought to be the Care of Laws and publick Institutions; and so I shall leave them for the next *Utopian* Scheme, that shall be drawn by as good a Man, and as great a Wit, as the last was left us.

The first is, that no Man should hold or enjoy at a time more than one Civil Office or Military Command in the Kingdom. Which is grounded upon this Principle, That as the Life of all Laws is the due Execution of them, so the Life and Perfection of all Governments is the due Administration; and that by the different Degrees of this, the several Forms of the other are either raised or debased more than by any Difference in their Original Institutions: So that perhaps it may pass among so many other Maxims in the Politick, *That those are the best Governments, which are best administred, and where all Offices are Supplied by Persons chosen to them, with just Distinction of Merit, and Capacity for discharging*

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ing them, and of Application to do it Honestly and Sufficiently. That which seems, in my Age, to have in great Measure deprived our Government of this Advantage, has not been only the Partiality of Princes and Ministers in the Choice of Persons employ'd, or their Negligence, and want of Distinction, upon which it is usually laid; but also the common Ambition or Avarice of those who are chosen. For few of them, when they are gotten into an Office, apply their Thoughts to the Execution of it, but are presently diverted by the Designs of getting another, and a Third; and very often he that has three, is as unquiet and discontented, and thereby grows as troublesome a Pretender, as when he had

none at all. Whereas, if every Man were sure to have but one at a Time, He would by his Application and Sufficiency in that, endeavour to deserve a greater in some kind, for which that might fit him, and help to promote him.

One Objection may be made against such a Law, and but one alone that I know of, besides those of particular Interest; which is, That many Offices in State are of so small Revenue as not to furnish a Man with what is Sufficient for the Support of his Life, or Discharge of his Place. But the Degrees of what is called Sufficient or Necessary are very many, and differ according to the Humour
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and Conceptions of several Men; and there is no Office so small, that some or other will not be Content to Execute, for the Profit, the Credit, or perhaps for the Business or Amusement, which some are as needy of as they are of the other two. Besides, if Offices were single, there would be more Persons employ'd in a State, and thereby the fewer left of that restless Temper, which raises those private Discontents, that under the Mask of Publick Good, of reforming Abuses, or redressing Grievances (to which perhaps the Nature of all Government is incident) raise Factions that ripen into the greatest Disturbances and Revolutions.

The second of these three Imaginary Constitutions is raised by the Speculation, how much the Number of Inhabitants falls below what the extent of our Territory, and Fertility of our Soil, makes it capable of entertaining and supporting with all Necessaries and Conveniences of Life. Our People have not only been drained by many Civil or foreign Wars, and one furious devouring Pestilence, within these Fifty Years, but by great Numbers of *English* resorting into *Ireland* upon the Desolations arrived there. Yet these are transitory Taxes upon the Bodies of Men, as the Expenses of War are upon their Estates; arrive casually, and continue but for certain Periods. There are others perpetual, and which are,
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like constant Rents, paid every Year out of the Stock of People in this Kingdom; such as are drained off by furnishing the Colonies of so many Plantations in the *West-Indies*, and so great Navigations into the *East*, as well as the South; which Climates are very dangerous and fatal to Tem-pers born and bred in one so different as ours. Besides, the vast Trade by Sea we drive into all Parts of the World, by the inclemency of Seasons, the Inconstancy and Rage of that Element, with the ventrous Humour of our Mariners, costs this Island many brave Lives every Year, which, if they staid at home, might serve the present Age, and go far to supply the next. The only way of recovering such losses, is by the

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the Invitation of Foreigners, and the Increase of Natives among us.

The first is to be made by the easiness of Naturalization, and of Freedom in our Corporations, by allowing such Liberty in different Professions of Religion, as cannot be dangerous to the Government. By a Registry of Lands, which may furnish easy Securities for Money, that shall be brought over by Stranges ; But chiefly by the Wisdom, Steddiness, and Safety, of our Government, which makes the great Resort of Men, who who live under Arbitrary Laws and Taxes, or in Countries Subject to Sudden and Frequent Invasions of Ambitious and Powerfull Neighbours.

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For the Increase of our Natives, it seems as reasonable a Care among us, as it has been in so many other Constitutions of Laws, especially the antient *Jews* and *Romans*, who were the most Populous of any other Nations, upon such Extent of Territory as they possess'd in *Syria* and *Italy*.

This Care is reduced into those two Points, upon which all Laws seem to turn, Reward, and Punishment: The first is provided by Privileges granted to a certain number of Children, and by maintenance allotted out of the Publick, too such as to much burthen poor Families: For these Publick workhouses in each County would be a Certain Provision, which might furnish work for
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all that want, as well as force it upon idle or criminal Persons, and thereby Infinitely encrease the Stock and Riches of the Nation, which arises more out of the Labour of Men, than the Growth of the Soil. The other Hinge of Punishment might turn upon a Law, whereby all Men who did not Marry by the Age of Five and Twenty, should Pay the third Part of their Revenue to some Publick uses, such as the Building of Ships and Publick Work-houses, and raising a Stock for maintaining them. This seems more necessary in our Age, from the late Humour (introduced by Licentiousness) of so many Mens Marrying late or never, and would not only encrease our People, but also turn

turn the vein of that we call Natural to that of Legal Propagation, which has ever been Encouraged and Honoured, as the other has been Disfavoured by all Institutions of Government.

The next of my Visions upon this publick Theam, concerns the improving our Races of Nobility and Gentry, as to'ther does encreasing the Number of our People in general. I will not say they are much impaired within these Forty or Fifty Years, though I have heard others lament it, by their observation of many Successive Parliaments, wherein they have served; But no Man I suppose will doubt they are capable of being improved, or think that
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care might not as well be taken for Men by Publick Institutions, as it is for the Races of other Creatures by private Endeavours. The weakness of Children, both in their Bodies and Minds, proceeds not only from such Constitutions or Qualities in the Parents, but also from the ill Consequences upon Generation, by Marriages contracted without Affection, Choice, or Inclination; (which is allowed by Naturalists upon Reason as well as Experience.) These Contracts would never be made, but by Men's Avarice, and Greediness of Portions with the Women they Marry, which is grown among us to that Degree, as to Surmount and Extinguish all other Regards or Desires: So that our Marriages
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are made, just like other Common Bargains and Sales, by the meer Consideration of Interest or Gain, without any of Love or Esteem, of Birth or of Beauty it Self, which ought to be the true Ingredients of all Happy Compositions in this kind, and of all generous Productions. Yet this Custom is of no antient Date in *England*, and I think I remember, within less than Fifty Years, the first Noble Families that Married into the City, for down-right Money, and thereby introduced by Degrees this publick Grievance, which has since ruined so many Estates by the necessity of giving great Portions to Daughters; impaired many Families by the weak or mean Productions of Marriages, made without any of that

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Warmth and Spirit that is given them, by Force of Inclination and Personal Choice; and Extinguist many great ones by the Aversion of the Persons who should have continued them. I know no remedy for this Evil under our Sun, but a Law providing that no Woman of what Quality soever, shall have the Value of above Two thousand Pounds for her Portion in Marriage, unless She be an Heiress; and that no such, above the value of Two hundred Pounds a Year, shall Marry to any but younger Brothers.

By this, Mens general Hopes of making their Fortunes by Wives, would be turned to other Courses, and Endeavours more useful
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to the Publick; Young Women would not be exposed by the want of Fortunes, and despair of Marrying without them: Noble Families would not be exhausted by Competition with those of meaner Allay, in the Point of Portions: Marriages would be made upon more natural Motives, and more generous Considerations, than meer dirty Interest, and encrease of Riches, without Measure or End. Shape and Beauty, Birth and Education, Wit and Understanding, gentle Nature and agreeable Humour, Honour and Virtue, would come in for their Share in such Contracts, as must always have so great an Influence upon all Men's Lives, and their Posterity too. Besides, some little Damps would be given to that

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pestilent Humour and general Mistake of placing all Felicity, in the endless degrees of Riches, which beyond a certain Proportion suited to each Rank, neither conduce to Health nor Pleasure, to Ease nor Convenience. The Love of Money is the Root of all Evil: Which is a Truth that both Morals and Politicks, Philosophy and Divinity, Reason and Experience, all agree in; and which makes the common Disquiets of private Life, and the Disturbances of Publick Governments.

— *Quid non mortalia pectora cogis,
Auri sacra Fames?*

I have not heard any part of our antient Constitutions so much
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complained of, as the Judicature of the House of Lords, as it is of late and usually exercised; which if carried on a little farther, and taken notice of by the House of Commons, as much as it seems to be resented by many of their Members, may, for ought I know, at one Time or other, occasion a Breach between the Two Houses: An Accident that would be at all Times pernicious, but might in some Conjunctions prove fatal to the publick Affairs and Interests of the Kingdom.

I will not enter upon the Question, Whether this Judicature has been as antient as the Conqueror's Time; or whether it has been exercised in Civil Causes only since the end of Queen *Elizabeth's*

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Reign; both which I have known asserted by intelligent Persons. But let the Antiquity be what it will, and the Complaints against it never so just, I do not see how the Course or Abuses of it can be changed or remedied, but by the House of Peers. And for this Reason, as well as many others, it would be wise and generous, by some Rules of their own, to give some Redress to the Complaints which are made upon this Occasion. Whether this may be done by Restriction of Cases that shall be admitted to come before them, as to Number or Quality; or by giving more Consideration to the Opinion of the Judges, or Weight to their Voices; I leave to those who better know the Constitutions and Forms of that House

House than I do. But this must be allowed, That till the end of *Q. Elizabeth's* Reign, the Peerage of *England* was very different from what it has been since, or is at present, by the Number and Quality of the Peers; and for that Reason, by the Credit they had in the Kingdom. For, besides that they were antiently few, and of very Noble Families, they were generally possessed of great Estates, which rendred them less subject to Corruption: And Men were better content to have their Rights and Possessions determined by Persons who had great ones of their own to lose, and which they were in danger of by the ill Administration of their Offices.

Now, besides the Points of Right or Antiquity, and some others a little controverted between the Lords and Commons, the vulgar Complaints against the present Exercise of this Judicature, are ; First, the Number of the Peers being very great, in Proportion to what it formerly was ; then, the Youth of so many Peers as sit in Judgment upon the weightiest Causes, wherein Knowledge and Experience seem necessary to judge ; and the last, That so many in that House have very small, and some perhaps no Estate of Land in *England*, contrary to the Original Institution.

The two first of these Complaints might be remedied, if the Lords should please to make it
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an Order of their House, That no Person should have a Voice in the Judgment of any Cause, before he were Thirty Years of Age. The last cannot be remedied otherwise than by Course of Time, and a fixed Resolution in the Crown to create no Baron who shall not at the same time entail Four thousand Pounds a Year upon that Honour whilst it continues in his Family ; a Viscount Five ; an Earl, Six ; a Marquis, Seven ; and a Duke, Eight. By this the Respect and Honour of the Peerage of *England* would be in some measure restored, not only in Points that concern their Judicature, but in that Interest and Influence among the People, by which they have often been so great a Support to the Crown

in the Reigns of wise and good Kings, and to the Liberties of the People in the unfortunate Times of weak Princes, or evil and ambitious Ministers.

These Speculations, how imaginary soever, are at least grounded upon the true, general, and perpetual Interest of the Nation, without any Regards of Parties and Factions, of the Necessities of particular Times or Occasions of Government. And such constant Interests of *England* there are, which last through all Successions of Kings, or Revolutions of State. Of this Kind, and the most general as well as most necessary, are, The Greatness of our Naval Forces; the Balance of our Neighbouring Powers; and our own Union,

Union, by the Extinction of Factions among us. For our Nation is too great, and too brave, to be ruined by any but it self; and if the Number and Weight of it roll one way, upon the greatest Changes that can happen, yet *England* will still be safe; which is the End of all Publick Institutions, as it was of the *Roman* Laws; *Salus populi suprema lex esto*. To this, all differing Opinions, Passions and Interests should strike Sail, and like proud swelling Streams, though running different Courses, should yet all make haste into the Sea of Common Safety, from whence their Springs are said to be derived; and which would otherwise overflow and lay waste the Countries where they pass. Without this

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Pretence at least, no Faction would ever swell so high as to endanger a State; for all of them gain their Power and Number to their Party, by pretending to be derived from Regards of Common Safety, and of tending towards it in the surest or directest Course.

The Comparifon between a State and a Ship, has been fo illustrated by Poets and Orators, that 'tis hard to find any point wherein they differ; and yet they feem to do it in this, That in great Storms and rough Seas, if all the Men and Lading roll to one fide, the Ship will be in danger of overfetting by their Weight: But on the contrary in the Storms of a State, if the Body of the People, with

with the Bulk of Estates, roll all one Way, the Nation will be safe. For the rest, the Similitude holds, and happens alike to the one and to the other. When a Ship goes to Sea, bound to a certain Port, with a great Cargo, and a numerous Crew who have a Share in the Lading as well as Safety of the Vessel; let the Weather and the Gale be never so fair, yet if in the Course she steers, the Ships Crew apprehend they see a Breach of Waters, which they are sure must come from Rocks or Sands, that will endanger the Ship unless the Pilot changes his Course: If the Captain, the Master, and Pilot, with some other of the Officers, tell them they are Fools or ignorant and not fit to advise; That there is no danger, and it belongs

belongs to themselves to steer what Course they please, or judge to be safe ; and that the business of the Crew is only to obey : If however the Crew persist in their Apprehensions of the Danger, and the Officers of the Ship in the Pursuit of their Course, till the Seamen will neither stand to their Tackle, hand Sails, or suffer the Pilot to steer as he pleases ; what can become of this Ship, but that either the Crew must be convinced by the Captain and Officers, of their Skill and Care, and Safety of their Course ; or these must comply with the common Apprehensions and Humours of the Seamen : or else they must come at last to fall together by the Ears, and so throw one another over-board, and

and leave the Ship in the Direction of the Strongest, and perhaps to perish, in case of hard Weather, for want of Hands.

Just so in a State, Divisions of Opinion, though upon Points of common Interest or Safety, yet if pursued to the Height, and with Heat or Obstinacy enough on both sides, must end in Blows and Civil Arms, and by their Success leave all in the Power of the strongest, rather than the wisest or the best Intentions; or perhaps expose it to the last Calamity of a foreign Conquest. But nothing besides the Uniting of Parties upon one common Bottom, can save a State in a Tempestuous Season; and every one, both of the Officers and Crew,

Crew, are equally concerned in the Safety of the Ship, as in their own, since in that alone theirs are certainly involved.

And thus I have done with these idle politick Visions, and at the same time with all Publick Thoughts as well as Employments: Very sorry that the Speculations of my Mind, or Actions of my Life, have been of no greater Service to my Country, which no Man, I am sure, has loved better, or esteemed more; tho' my own Temper, and the Distempers of our Nation, prevailed with me to leave their Service sooner than perhaps was either necessary for me, or common with other Men. But my Age now, as well as my Temper and long fixed Resolutions,

solutions, has made me unfit for any farther Flights ; which I leave to younger and abler Persons : Wishing them the same Intentions and greater Successes, and Conjectures more favourable to such Publick and Generous Thoughts and Designs.

Essay II.

OF

HEALTH

AND

LONG-LIFE.

EUGENIE

OF

HERALD

AND

LONG-IF

O F
HEALTH
A N D
LONG-LIFE.

I Can truly say , that of all the Paper I have blotted, which has been a great deal in my time ; I have never written any thing for the Publick without the Intention of some Publick Good. Whether I have succeeded or no, is not my Part to judge ; and others, in what they tell me, may deceive either

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me or themselves. Good Intentions, are at least the Seed of good Actions ; and every Man ought to sow them, and leave it to the Soil and the Seasons, whether they come up or no, and whether He, or any other gathers the Fruit.

I have chosen those Subjects of these Essays, wherein I take Human Life to be most concerned, and which are of most common Use, or most necessary Knowledge ; and wherein, though I may not be able to inform Men more than they know, yet I may perhaps give them the Occasion to consider more than they do.

This is a sort of Instruction that no Man can dislike, since it comes from Himself, and is made without Envy or Fear,
Con-

Constraint or Obligation, which make us commonly dislike what is taught us by others. All Men would be glad to be their own Masters, and should not be sorry to be their own Scholars, when they pay no more for their Learning than their own Thoughts, which they have commonly more store of about them than they know what to do with ; and which if they do not apply to something of good Use, nor employ about something of ill, they will trifle away upon something vain or impertinent : Their Thoughts will be but making Dreams, as their Dreams are sleeping Thoughts. Yet of all sorts of Instructions, the best is gained from our own Thoughts, as well as Experience : For though a Man may grow Learned by

other Mens Thoughts, yet He will grow Wise or Happy only by his own; the Use of other Mens towards these Ends, is but to serve for ones own Reflections; otherwise, they are but like Meat, swallowed down for Pleasure or Greediness, which only charges the Stomach, or fumes into the Brain, if it be not well digested, and thereby turned into the very Mass or Substance of the Body that receives it.

Some Writers in casting up the Goods most desireable in Life, have given them this Rank; Health, Beauty, and Riches. Of the first I find no Dispute; but to the two others, much may be said: For Beauty is a Good that makes others Happy, rather than ones self; and how Riches should claim so high a Rank, I can-

cannot tell, when so great, so wise, and so good a part of Mankind, have in all Ages preferred Poverty before them. The *Therapeutæ* and *Ebionites* among the *Jews* ; the primitive Monks and modern Fryers among Christians ; so many *Dervises* among the *Mahometans* ; the *Brachmans* among the *Indians* ; and all the ancient Philosophers : Who, whatever else they differed in, agreed in this, of despising Riches ; and at best esteeming them, an unnecessary Trouble or Encumbrance of Life. So that whether they are to be reckoned among Goods or Evils, is yet left in Doubt.

When I was young, and in some idle Company, it was proposed, that every one should tell what their three Wishes should

be, if they were sure to be granted : Some were very pleasant, and some very extravagant. Mine were, Health, and Peace, and fair Weather. Which, though out of the way among young Men, yet perhaps might pass well enough among old. They are all of a Strain : For, Health in the Body is like Peace in the State, and Serenity in the Air. The Sun, in our Climate at least, has something so reviving, that a fair Day is a kind of a sensual Pleasure, and of all others the most innocent.

Peace is a publick Blessing, without which, no Man is safe in his Fortunes, his Liberty, or his Life : Neither Innocence or Laws, are a Guard or Defence; no Possessions are enjoyed but in Danger or Fear, which equally

ly lose the Pleasure and Ease of all that Fortune can give us. Health is the Soul that animates all Enjoyments of Life, which are fade and tasteless, if not dead, without it. A Man starves at the best and the greatest Tables, makes Faces at the noblest and most delicate Wines, is old and impotent in *Seraglio*s of the most sparkling Beauties, poor and wretched in the midst of the greatest Treasures and Fortunes : With common Diseases, Strength grows decrepit, Youth loses all Vigor, and Beauty all Charms ; Musick grows harsh, and Conversation disagreeable ; Palaces are Prisons, or of equall Confinement ; Riches are useless ; Honour and Attendance are cumbersome ; and Crowns themselves are a Burthen ; But if Diseases are
 pain-

painful and violent, they equal all Conditions of Life, make no difference between a Prince and a Beggar ; and a Fit of the Stone or the Cholick, puts a King to the Rack, and makes him as miserable as He can do the meanest, the worst, and most criminal of his Subjects.

To know that the Passions or Distempers of the Mind make our Lives unhappy, in spite of all Accidents and Favours of Fortune, a Man perhaps must be a Philosopher ; and requires much Thought, and Study, and deep Reflections. To be a *Stoick*, and grow insensible of Pain, as well as Poverty or Disgrace, one must be perhaps something more or less than a Man ; renounce common Nature, oppose common Truth and constant Expe-
ri-

rience. But there needs little Learning or Study, more than common Thought and Observation, to find out, that ill Health loses not only the Enjoyments of Fortune, but the Pleasures of Sense, and even of Imagination, and hinders the common Operations both of Body and Mind from being easy and free. Let Philosophers reason and differ about the Chief Good or Happiness of Man: Let them find it where they can, and place it where they please: But there is no Mistake so gross, or Opinion so impertinent (how common soever) as to think, Pleasures arise from what is without us, rather than from what is within; from the Impression given us of Objects, rather than from the Disposition of the Organs

gans that receive them: The various Effects of the same Objects upon different Persons, or upon the same Persons at different times, make the contrary most evident. Some Distempers make Things look Yellow; others double what we see; the commonest alter our Tasts and our Smells; and the very foulness of Ears changes Sounds. The difference of Tempers as well as of Age, may have the same Effect, by the many Degrees of Perfection or Imperfection in our original Tempers, as well as of Strength or Decay, from the differences of Health and of Years. From all which, 'tis easy, without being a great Naturalist, to conclude, that our Perceptions are formed, and our Imaginations raised upon them, in a very great measure,
by

by the Dispositions of the Organs, thro' which the several Objects make their Impressions ; and that these vary according to the different Frame and Temper of the others ; as the Sound of the same Breath passing through an Oaten Pipe, a Flute, or a Trumpet.

But to leave Philosophy, and return to Health. Whatever is true in point of Happiness, depending upon the Temper of the Mind ; 'tis certain that Pleasures depend upon the Temper of the Body ; and that to enjoy them, a Man must be well himself, as the Vessel must be sound to have your Wine sweet ; for otherwise, let it be never so pleasant and so generous, it loses the Taste ; and pour in never so much, it all turns sour, and

and were better let alone. Whoever will eat well, must have a Stomach: Who will relish the Pleasure of Drinks, must have his Mouth in tast: Who will enjoy a beautiful Woman, must be in Vigor himself: Nay, to find any Felicity, or take any Pleasure in the greatest Advantages of Honour and Fortune, a Man must be in Health. Who would not be covetous, and with Reason, if this could be purchas'd with Gold? Who not Ambitious, if it were at the command of Power, or restored by Honour? But alas! a *White Staff* will not help Gouty Feet to walk, better than a common Cane; nor a *Blue Ribband* bind up a Wound so well as a Fillet. The Glitter of Gold or of Diamonds, will but hurt sore Eyes, instead
of

of curing them : And an aking Head will be no more eased by wearing a Crown, than a common Night-cap.

If Health be such a Blessing, and the very Source of all Pleasure, it may be worth the Pains to discover the Regions where it grows, the Springs that feed it, the Customs and Methods by which 'tis best cultivated and preserved. Towards this end, it will be necessary to consider the Examples or Instances we meet with of Health, and long Life, which is the consequence of it ; and to observe the Places, the Customs, and the Conditions of those, who enjoyed them in any Degree extraordinary ; from whence we may best guess at the Causes, and make the truest Conclusions,

Of

Of what passed before the Flood, we know little from Scripture it self, besides the Length of their Lives. So as I shall only observe upon that Period of Time, that Men are thought neither to have eat Flesh nor drunk Wine before it ended. For, to *Noah*, first seems to have been given the Liberty of feeding upon living Creatures, and the Prerogative of planting the Vine. Since that Time, we meet with little mention of very long Lives, in any Stories, either Sacred or Profane, besides the *Patriarchs* of the *Hebrews*, the *Brachmans* among the old *Indians*; and the *Brazilians*, at the time that Country was discovered by the *Europeans*: Many of these were said then to have lived two hundred, some three hundred Years,

Years. The same Terms of Life, are attributed to the old *Brachmans*; and how long those of the *Patriarchs* were, is recorded in Scripture. Upon all these, I shall observe, that the *Patriarchs* Abodes were not in Cities, but in open Countries and Fields: That their Lives were Pastoral, or employed in some sorts of Agriculture: That they were of the same Race, to which their Marriages were generally confined: That their Diet was simple as that of the Ancients is generally represented; among whom Flesh or Wine was seldom used, but at Sacrifices or solemn Feasts. The *Brachmans* were all of the same Races; lived in Fields and in Woods, after the Course of their Studies was ended, and fed only upon Rice, Milk, or Herbs.

The *Brazilians*, when first discovered, lived the most natural original Lives of Mankind, so frequently described in ancient Countries, before Laws, or Property, or Arts, made entrance among them : And so their Customs may be concluded to have been yet more simple, than either of the other two. They lived without Business or Labour, further than for their necessary Food, by gathering Fruits, Herbs, and Plants : They knew no Drink but Water ; were not tempted to eat nor drink, beyond common Thirst or Appetite ; were not troubled with either Publick or Domestick Cares, nor knew any Pleasures, but the most simple and natural.

From all these Examples and Customs, it may probably be
con-

concluded; that the common Ingredients of Health and long Life (where Births are not impair'd from the Conception, by any derived Infirmities of the Race they come from) are; great Temperance, open Air, easy Labour, little Care, Simplicity of Diet, rather Fruits and Plants than Flesh, which easier corrupts; and Water which preserves the radical Moisture, without too much increasing the radical Heat: Whereas Sickness, Decay, and Death, proceed commonly from the one preying too fast upon the other, and at length, wholly extinguishing it.

I have sometimes wondred, that the Regions of so much Health and so long Lives, were all under very hot Climates;

whereas the more temperate are
 allowed to produce the strong-
 est and most vigorous Bodies.
 But weaker Constitutions may
 last as long as the strong, if
 better preserv'd from Accidents:
 So, *Venice-Glass* as long as an
 earthen Pitcher, if carefully kept:
 And for one Life that ends by
 meer Decay of Nature or Age,
 Millions are intercepted by Ac-
 cidents from without, or Diseases
 within; by untimely Deaths, or
 Decays, from the Effects of Ex-
 cess and Luxury, immoderate
 Repletion or Exercise; the prey-
 ing of our Minds upon our Bo-
 dies by long Passions, or consu-
 ming Cares, as well as those Ac-
 cidents which are called violent.
 Men are perhaps most betrayed
 to all these Dangers, by great
 Strength and Vigour of Con-
 stitu-

stitution, by more Appetite and larger Fare in colder Climates : In the warm, Excesses are found more pernicious to Health, and so more avoided : And if Experience and Reflection do not cause Temperance among them, yet it is forced upon them by the Faintness of Appetite. I can find no better Account, of a Story Sir *Francis Bacon* tells of a very old Man, whose Customs and Diet he inquired : But He said, He observed none, besides, eating before he was hungry, and drinking before he was dry ; for by that Rule, He was sure never to eat or drink much at a time. Besides, the Warmth of Air keeps the Pores open, and by continual Perspiration breaths out those Humours which breed most Diseases, if in cooler Cli-

mates it be not helpt by Exercise. And this I take to be the Reason of our *English* Constitutions, finding so much Benefit by the Air of *Mompelier*, especially in long Colds or Consumptions, or other lingring Diseases. Tho' I have known some who attributed the restoring of their Health there, as much to the Fruits as the Air of that Place.

I know not, whether there may be any thing in the Climat of *Brazil*, more propitious to Health than in other Countries. For, besides what was observed among the Natives upon the first *Europæan* Discoveries: I remember *Don Francisco de Melo*, a *Portugal* Ambassador in *England*, told me, it was frequent in His Country for Men spent with Age or other Decays, so as they could

could not hope for above a Year or two of Life, to ship themselves away in a *Brazil* Fleet, and after their Arrival there, to go on a great length, sometime of twenty or thirty Years, or more, by the force of that Vigour they recovered with that Remove. Whether such an Effect might grow from the Air or the Fruits of that Climat, or by approaching nearer the Sun, which is the Fountain of Life and Heat, when their Natural Heat was so far decayed: Or whether the piecing out of an old Man's Life were worth the Pains, I cannot tell: Perhaps the Play is not worth the Candle.

I do not remember either in Story, or modern Observation, any Examples of long Life common to any Parts of *Europe*;

which the Temper of the Climate
 has probably made the Scene of
 Luxury and Excesses in Diet.
 Greece and Rome were of old ce-
 lebrated, or rather defamed for
 those Customs, when they were
 not known in *Asia* nor *Africk*:
 And how guilty our colder Cli-
 mates are, in this Point, beyond
 the warmer of *Spain* and *Italy*,
 is but too well known. It is
 common among *Spaniards* of
 the best Quality, not to have ta-
 sted pure Wine at forty Years
 old. 'Tis an Honour to their
 Laws, that a Man loses his Te-
 stimony who can be proved once
 to have been Drunk. And I ne-
 ver was more pleased with any
 Reply, than that of a *Spaniard*;
 who having been asked, whether
 He had a good Dinner at a
 Friend's House, said, *Si sennor a*
via

via sabrado: Yes Sir, for there was something left. The great Trade in *Italy*, and Refort of Strangers, especially of *Germans*, has made the use of Wine something more frequent there, though not much among the Persons of Rank, who are observed to live longer at *Rome* and *Madrid*, than in any other Towns of *Europe*, where the Qualities of the Air force them upon the greatest Temperance, as well as Care and Precaution. We read of many Kings very long liv'd in *Spain*; one I remember that reigned above seventy Years. But *Philip de Comines* observes, that none in *France* had lived to threescore, from *Charlemain's* Time to that of *Lewis* the eleventh: Whereas in *England*, from the Conquest to the end of Queen *Elizabeth*,
(which

(which is a much shorter Period of Time) there have reigned five Kings and one Queen, whereof two lived sixty five Years, two sixty eight, and two reached at least the seventieth Year of their Age. I wondred upon this Subject when Monsieur *Pompone*, French Ambassador in my time at the *Hague*, a Person of great Worth and Learning as well as Observation, told me there, that in his Life he had never heard of any Man in *France* that arriv'd at a hundred Years : And I could imagine no Reason for it, unless it be, that the Excellence of their Climat, subject neither to much Cold nor Heat, gave them such a Liveliness of Temper and Humour, as disposed them to more Pleasures of all Kinds, than in other Countries.

And

And I doubt Pleasures too long continued, or rather too frequently repeated, may spend the Spirits, and thereby Life too fast, to leave it very long : Like blowing a Fire too often, which makes it indeed Burn the better, but Last the less. For as Pleasures perish themselves in the using, like Flowers that fade with gathering ; so 'tis neither natural nor safe to continue them long, to renew them without Appetite, or ever to provoke them by Arts or Imagination, where Nature does not call ; who can best tell us, when and how much we need, or what is good for us, if we were so wise as to consult her. But a short Life and a merry carries it, and is without doubt better than a long with Sorrow or Pain.

For

For the Honour of our Climat, it has been observed by ancient Authors, that the *Britains* were longer liv'd than any other Nation to them known. And in modern Times there have been more and greater Examples of this kind, than in any other Countries of *Europe*. the Story of old *Parr* is too late to be forgotten by many now alive; who was brought out of *Darbyshire* to the Court in King *Charles* the First's time, and lived to a hundred and fifty three Years old; and might have, as was thought, gone further, if the change of Country Air and Diet for that of the Town, had not carried Him off, perhaps untimely at that very Age. The late *Robert* Earl of *Leicester*, who was a Person of great Learning and Observation, as well

well as of Truth ; told me several Stories very extraordinary upon this Subject : One, of a Countess of *Desmond*, married out of *England* in *Edward* the Fourth's Time ; and who lived far in King *James* his Reign ; and was counted to have died some Years above a hundred and forty : at which Age she came from *Bristol* to *London*, to beg some Relief at Court ; having long been very poor, by the Ruin of that *Irish* Family into which she was married.

Another He told me, was, of a Beggar at a Booksellers Shop where he was, some Weeks after the Death of Prince *Henry* : And observing those that passed by, He was saying to his Company, that never such a Mourning had been seen in *England* : This Beggar said,
no,

no, never since the Death of Prince
Arthur : My Lord *Leicester* surpriz'd, ask'd what she meant, and whether she remembered it: She said, very well: And upon His more curious Enquiry, told Him that Her Name was *Rainsford*, of a good Family in *Oxfordshire*: That when She was about twenty Years old, upon the Falseness of a Lover She fell distracted; how long She had been so, nor what passed in that Time, She knew not: That when She was thought well enough to go abroad, She was fain to beg for Her Living: That She was sometime at this Trade, before She recovered any Memory of what She had been, or where bred: That when this Memory returned, She went down into Her Country, but hardly found the Memo-

Memory of any of Her Friends She had left there ; and so returned to a Parish in *Southmark*, where She had some small Allowance among other Poor, and had been for many Years ; and once a Week walked into the City, and took what Alms were given her. My Lord *Leicester* told me, He sent to inquire at the Parish, and found their Account agree with the Woman's : Upon which He order'd Her to call at His House once a Week, which She did for some Time ; after which He heard no more of Her. This Story raised some Discourse upon a Remarque of some in the Company ; That mad People are apt to live long. They alledged Examples of their own Knowledge : But the Result was, that if it were true, it must proceed

ceed from the Natural Vigour of their Tempers, which disposed them to Passions so violent, as ended in Frenzies : And from the great Abstinence and Hardships of Diet they are forced upon by the Methods of their Cure, and Severity of those who had them in Care ; no other Drink but Water being allowed them, and very little Meat.

The last Story I shall mention from that Noble Person, upon this Subject, was of a Morrice-Dance in *Herefordshire* ; whereof He said, He had a Pamphlet still in His Library, written by a very ingenious Gentleman of that County : And which gave an Account, how such a Year of King *James* his Reign, there went about the Country a Sett of Morrice-Dancers, composed of ten
Men

Men who danced, a Maid *Marian*, and a Tabor and Pipe : And how these twelve one with another made up twelve hundred Years. 'Tis not so much, that so many in one small County should live to that Age, as that they should be in Vigour and in Humour to Travel and to Dance.

I have in my Life met with two of above a hundred and twelve ; whereof the Woman had passed her Life in Service ; and the Man in common Labour, till He grew old and fell upon the Parish. But I met with one who had gone a much greater Length, which made me more curious in my Enquiries. 'Twas an old Man who begged usually at a lonely Inn upon the Road in *Staffordshire* ; who told me, He was a hundred twenty four Years
K old :

old : That he had been a Soldier in the *Cales Voyage* under the Earl of *Effex*, of which He gave me a sensible Account. That after his Return, He fell to labour in his own Parish, which was about a Mile from the Place where I met Him. That He continued to work till a hundred and twelve, when He broke one of his Ribs, by a Fall from a Cart, and being thereby disabled, He fell to beg. This agreeing with what the Master of the House told me, was reported and believed by all His Neighbours : I asked him what his usual Food was ; He said, Milk, Bread, and Cheese, and Flesh when it was given him. I asked what he used to drink ; He said, O Sir, we have the best Water in our Parish that is in all the Neigh-

Neighbourhood : Whether He never drank any thing else ? He said, Yes, if any Body gave it him, but not otherwise : And the Host told me, He had got many a Pound in his House, but never spent one Penny. I asked if He had any Neighbours as old as He ; and He told me, but one, who had been his Fellow Soldier at *Cales*, and was three Years older ; but he had been most of his time in a good Service, and had something to live on now he was old.

I have heard, and very credibly, of many in my Life, above a hundred Years old, brought as Witnesses upon Trials of Titles, and Bounds of Land : But have observed most of them to have been of *Darbyshire*, *Staffordshire*, or *Yorkshire*,

and none above the Rank of common Farmers. The oldest I ever knew any Persons of Quality, or indeed any Gentleman either at home or abroad, was fourscore and twelve. This added to all the former Recites or Observations, either of long-lived Races or Persons in any Age or Country, makes it easy to conclude, that Health and Long-life are usually Blessings of the Poor, not of the Rich, and the Fruits of Temperance, rather than of Luxury and Excess. And indeed if a rich Man does not in many Things live like a Poor, He will certainly be the worse for His Riches: If He does not use Exercise, which is but voluntary Labour; if He does not restrain Appetite by Choice, as the other does by Ne-

Necessity. If He does not practise sometimes even Abstinence and Fasting, which is the last Extream of Want and Poverty : If His Cares and his Troubles encrease with his Riches, or His Passions with his Pleasures ; He will certainly impair in Health, whilst he improves his Fortunes, and lose more than He gains by the Bargain ; since Health is the best of all human Possessions, and without which, the rest are not relished or kindly enjoyed.

It is observable in Story, that the ancient Philosophers lived generally very long ; which may be attributed to their great Temperance, and their Freedom from common Passions, as well as Cares of the World. But the Fryers in many Orders seem to equal them in all these, and

yet are not observed to live long : So as some other Reason may be assigned : I can give none, unless it be the great and constant Confinement of the last, and Liberty of the others : I mean not only that of their Persons to their Cloisters, (which is not universal among them) but their Condition of Life, so tied to Rules, and so absolutely subject to their Superiours Commands, besides, the very Confinement of their Minds and Thoughts to a certain Compass of Notions, Speculations and Opinions. The Philosophers took the greatest Liberty that could be ; and allowed their Thoughts, their Studies, and Inventions, the most unconfined Range over the whole Universe. They both began and continued their Profession

on

on and Condition of Life at their own Choice, as well as their Abodes. Whereas among the Fryers, though they may be voluntary at first, yet after their Vows made, they grow necessary, and thereby constrained. Now 'tis certain, that as nothing damps or depresses the Spirits like great Subjection or Slavery, either of Body or Mind; so nothing nourishes, revives and fortifies them like great Liberty. Which way possibly enter among other Reasons, of what has been observed about long Life, being found more in *England*, than in others of our Neighbour Countries.

Upon the general and particular Surveys already made, it may seem that the mountainous or barren Countries are usually

the Scenes of Health and Long-life : That they have been found rather in the Hills of *Palestine* and *Arcadia*, than in the Plains of *Babylon* or of *Thessaly* : And among us in *England*, rather upon the Peak of *Darbyshire*, and the Heaths of *Staffordshire*, than the fertile Soils of other Counties, that abound more in People and in Riches. Whether this proceeds from the Air being clearer, of gross and damp Exhalations, or from the meaner Condition, and thereby harder Fare, and more simple Diet; or from the stronger Nourishment of those Grains and Roots which grow in dry Soils; I will not determine: But think it is evident from common Experience, that the Natives and Inhabitants of hilly and barren Countries, have
not

not only more Health in general, but also more Vigour than those of the Plains, or fertile Soils ; and usually exceed them even in Size and Stature. So the largest Bodies of Men that are found in these Parts of *Europe*, are, the *Switzers*, the *Highlanders* of *Scotland*, and the *Northern Irish*. I remember King *Charles* the second (a Prince of much and various Knowledge, and curious Observation) upon this Subject, falling in Discourse, asked me, what could be the Reason, that in mountainous Countries the Men were commonly larger, and yet the Cattle of all sorts smaller than in others. I could think of none, unless it were, that Appetite being more in both, from the Air of such Places, it hapned, that

that by the Care of Parents in the Education of Children, these seldom wanted Food of some sort or other, enough to supply Nature, and satisfy Appetite, during the Age of their Growth, which must be the greater, by the Sharpness of Hunger, and Strength of Digestion in drier Airs : For Milk, Roots, and Oats, abound in such Countries, though there may be Scarcity of other Food or Grain. But the Cattle, from the Shortness of Pasture and of Fodder, have hardly enough to feed in Summer ; and very often want in Winter, even necessary Food for Sustenance of Life ; many are starved, and the rest stunted in their Growth, which after a certain Age never advances. Whether this be a good Reason, or

a better may be found ; I believe one Part of it will not be contested by any Man that tries ; which is, that the open dry Air of hilly Countries gives more Stomach than that of Plains and Vallies, in which Cities are commonly built, for the Convenience of Water, of Trade, and the Plenty of Fruits and Grains produced by the Earth, with much greater Increase and less Labour, in softer than in harder Grounds. The Faintness of Appetite in such Places, especially in great Cities, makes the many Endeavours to relieve and provoke it by Art, where Nature fails : And this is one great Ground of Luxury, and so many, and various, and extravagant Inventions to heighten and improve it : Which may serve perhaps for some Refinement

ment in Pleasure ; but not at all, for any Advantages of Health or of Life : On the contrary ; all the great Cities, celebrated most, by the Concourse of Mankind, and by the Inventions and Customs of the greatest and most delicate Luxury, are the Scenes of the most frequent and violent Plagues, as well as other Diseases. Such are in our Age, *Grand-Cairo, Constantinople, Naples, and Rome* ; though the exact and constant Care in this last, helps them commonly to escape better than the others.

This introduces the Use, and indeed the Necessity of Physick in great Towns and very populous Countries ; which, remoter and more barren or desolate Places are scarce acquainted with. For in the Course of common
Life,

Life, a Man must either often Exercise, or Fast, or take Physick, or be sick; and the Choice seems left to every one as he likes. The two first are the best Methods and Means of preserving Health: The Use of Physick is for restoring it, and curing those Diseases which are generally caused by the Want or Neglect of the others: But is neither necessary, nor perhaps useful for Confirming Health, or to the Length of Life; being generally a Force upon Nature; though the End of it seems to be rather Assisting Nature, than Opposing it in its Course.

How ancient, how general the Study or Profession of this Science has been in the World, and how various the Practice, may be worth a little Enquiry and Ob-

Observation, since it so nearly concerns our Healths and Lives. *Greece* must be allowed to have been the Mother of this, as much or more than of other Sciences, most whereof were transplanted thither from more ancient and more Eastern Nations. But this seems to have first risen there, and with good Reason : For *Greece* having been the first Scene of Luxury we meet with in Story, and having thereby occasioned more Diseases, seemed to owe the World that Justice of providing the Remedies. Among the more simple and original Customs and Lives of other Nations, it entred late, and was introduced by the *Grecians*. In Ancient *Babylon*, how great and populous soever, no Physicians were known, nor other Methods for

for the Cure of Diseases, besides Abstinence, Patience, Domestick Care ; or when these succeeded not, exposing the Patient in the Market, to receive the Instruction of any Persons that passed by, and pretended by Experience or Enquiries, to have learned any Remedies for such an Illness. The *Persian* Emperors sent into *Greece* for the Physicians they needed, upon some Extremity at first, but afterwards kept them, residing with them. In old *Rome* they were long unknown ; and after having enter'd there, and continu'd for some Time, they were all banish'd, and return'd not in many Years, till their Fondness of all the *Grecian* Arts and Customs, restored this, and introduced all the rest among them ; where they continu'd

tinu'd in Use and Esteem, during the Greatness of that Empire. With the Rise and Progress of the fierce Northern Powers and Arms ; This, as well as all other Learning, was in a manner extinguisht in *Europe*. But when the *Saracen* Empire grew to such a Height in the more Eastern and Southern Parts of the World : All Arts and Sciences, following the Traces of Greatness and Security in States or Governments, began to flourish there, and this among the rest. The *Arabians* seem to have first retrieved and restored it in the *Mahometan* Dominions ; and the *Jews* in *Europe*, who were long the chief Professors of it in the *Gothick* Kingdoms ; having been always a Nation very Mercurial, of great Genius and Application.

plication to all sorts of Learning after their Disperſion; till they were diſcouraged by the Perſecutions of their Religion, and their Perſons, among moſt of the Chriſtian States. In the vaſt Territories of *India*, there are few Phyſicians, or little eſteemed, beſides ſome *Europeans*, or elſe of the Race either of *Jews* or *A-rabs*.

Through theſe Hands and Places, this Science has paſſed with greateſt Honour and Applauſe, Among others, it has been leſs uſed or eſteemed.

For the Antiquity of it, and Original in *Greece*, we muſt have Recourſe to *Æſculapius*, who lived in the Age before the *Trojan War*; and whoſe Son *Macaon* is mentioned to have aſſiſted there; but whether as a Phyſician or a

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Surgeon, I do not find : How simple the Beginnings of this Art were, may be observed by the Story or Tradition, of *Æsculapius* going about the Country with a Dog and a She-Goat, always following him; both which He used much in His Cures : The first, for licking all ulcered Wounds ; and the Goats Milk for Diseases of the Stomach and the Lungs. We find little more recorded of either his Methods or Medicines ; though He was so succesful by His Skill, or so admir'd for the Novelty of His Profession, as to have been honoured with Statues, esteemed Son of *Apollo*, and worshiped as a God.

Whoever was accounted the God of Physick, the Prince of this Science must be by all, I think,

think, allowed to have been *Hippocrates*. He flourished in the time of the first renowned Philosophers of Greece, (the chief of whom was *Democritus*) and His Writings are the most ancient of any that remain to Posterity : For those of *Democritus* and others of that Age, are all lost, though many were preserved till the time of *Antoninus Pius*, and perhaps something later : And 'tis probable, were suppress'd by the pious Zeal of some Fathers, under the first Christian Emperor. Those of *Hippocrates* escaped this Fate of his Age, by being esteemed so useful to Human Life, as well as the most excellent upon all Subjects he treats. For he was a great Philosopher and Naturalist, before He began the Study of Physick, to which both those,

are perhaps necessary. His Rules and Methods continued in Practice as well as Esteem, without any Dispute, for many Ages, till the time of *Galen*: And I have heard a great Physician say, that His Aphorisms are still the most certain and uncontroll'd of any that Science has produced. I will judge but of one, which in my Opinion has the greatest Race and Height both of Sense and Judgment, that I have read in so few Words, and the best expressed. *Ars longa, vita brevis, experientia fallax, occasio præceps, judicium difficile.* By which alone, if no more remained of that admirable Person, we may easily judge how great a Genius He was, and how perfectly He understood both Nature and Art.

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In the time of *Adrian*, *Galen* began to change the Practice and Methods of Physick, derived to that Age from *Hippocrates* ; and those of His new Institution continue generally observed to our Time. Yet *Paracelsus* about two hundred Years ago, endeavoured to overthrow the whole Scheme of *Galen*, and introduce a new one of His own, as well as the use of Chymical Medicines : And has not wanted his Followers and Admirers ever since ; who have in some measure compounded with the *Galenists*, and brought a mixt use of Chymical Medicines into the present Practice.

Doctor *Harvey* gave the first Credit, if not Rise, to the Opinion about the Circulation of the Blood ; which was expected

to bring in great and general Innovations into the whole Practice of Physick ; but has had no such Effect. Whether the Opinion has not had the Luck to be so well believed as proved ; Sense and Experience having not well agreed with Reason and Speculation : Or, whether the Scheme has not been pursued so far, as to draw it into Practice : Or, whether it be too fine to be capable of it, like some Propositions in the Mathematicks, how true and demonstrative soever ; I will not pretend to determine.

These great Changes or Revolutions in the Physical Empire, have given Ground to many Attacks that have been made against it, upon the Score of its Uncertainty, by several wise and learn-

learned Men, as well as by many ignorant and malicious. *Montaigne* has written a great deal, and very ingeniously, upon this Point; and some sharp *Italians*: And many Physicians are too free upon the Subject, in the Conversation of their Friends. But as the noble *Athenian* Inscription told *Demetrius*; That He was in so much a God, as He acknowledged Himself to be a Man: So we may say of Physicians, that they are the greater, in so much as they know and confess the Weakness of their Art. 'Tis certain however, that the Study of Physick is not achieved in any eminent Degree, without very great Advancements in other Sciences: So that whatever the Profession is, the Professors have been generally very

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much

much esteemed upon that Account, as well as of their own Art, as the most learned Men of their Ages ; and thereby shared with the two other great Professions in those Advantages most commonly valued, and most eagerly pursued ; Whereof the Divines seem to have had the most Honour, the Lawyers the most Money, and the Physicians the most Learning. I have known in my time, at least five or six, that besides their general Learning, were the greatest Wits in the compass of my Conversation. And whatever can be said of the Uncertainty of their Art, or Disagreement of its Professors ; They may, I believe, confidently undertake ; That when Divines arrive at Certainty in their Schemes of Divinity ; or Lawyers in those

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of Law ; Or Politicians in those of Civil Government : The Physicians will do it likewise in the Methods and Practice of Physick : And have the Honour of finding out the universal Medicine, at least as soon, as the Chymists shall the Philosophers Stone.

The great Defects in this excellent Science, seem to me chiefly, to have proceeded from the Professors Application, (especially since *Galen's* time) running so much upon Method, and so little upon Medicine ; and in this to have addicted themselves so much to Composition, and neglected too much the Use of Simples, as well as the Enquires and Records of Specifick Remedies.

Upon

Upon this Occasion, I have sometimes wondred, why a Registry has not been kept in the Colledges of Phyficians, of all fuch as have been invented by any Profeflors of every Age, found out by Study or by Chance, learned by Enquiry, and approved by their Practice and Experience. This would fupply the want of Skill and Study : Arts would be improved by the Experience of many Ages, and derived by the Succeffion of Anceftors. As many Profeflions are tied to certain Races in feveral Nations, fo this of Phyfick has been in fome ; by which Parents were induced to the Cares of improving and augmenting their Knowledge, as others do their Eftates ; becaufe they were to defcend to their Pofterity, and
not

not die with themselves, as Learning does in vulgar Hands. How many Methods as well as Remedies are lost, for want of this Custom in the Course of Ages ! and which perhaps were of greater Effect, and of more common Benefit than those that succeeding in their Places, have worn out the Memory of the former, either by Chance or Negligence, or different Humours of Persons and Times.

Among the *Romans* there were four Things much in use, whereof some are so far out of Practice in ours, and other late Ages, as to be hardly known any more than by their Names : These were, *Bathing*, *Fumigation*, *Friction*, and *Faetation*. The first, though not wholly disused amongst us, yet is turned out of the Service
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of Health, to that of Pleasure ; but may be of excellent Effect in both. It not only opens the Pores, provokes Sweat, and thereby allays Heat ; supples the Joints and Sinews ; unwearies and refreshes more than any thing, after too great Labour and Exercise : But is of great + Effect in some acute Pains, as of the Stone and Cholick ; and disposes to Sleep, when many other Remedies fail. Nor is it improbable, that all good Effects of any Natural Baths may be imitated by the Artificial, if composed with Care and Skill of able Naturalists or Physicians.

Fumigation , or the Use of Scents, is not, that I know, at all practised in our Modern Physick, nor the Power and Virtues of

of them considered among us. Yet they may have as much to do good, for ought I know, as to do harm, and contribute to Health as well as to Diseases ; which is too much felt by Experience in all that are Infectious, and by the Operations of some Poisons that are received only by the Smell. How reviving as well as pleasing some Scents of Herbs or Flowers are, is obvious to all : How great Virtues they may have in Diseases, especially of the Head, is known to few ; but may be easily conjectured by any thinking Man. What is recorded of *Democritus*, is worth remarking, upon this Subject ; That being spent with Age, and just at the Point of Death : and His Sister bewailing, that He should not live till the

Feast

Feast of *Ceres*, which was to be kept three or four Days after ; He called for Loaves of new Bread to be brought Him, and with the Steam of them under His Nose, prolonged His Life till the Feast was past, and then died. Whether a Man may live some time, or how long, by the Steam of Meat, I cannot tell : But the Justice was great, if not the Truth, in that Story of a Cook, who observing a Man to use it often in His Shop, and asking Money because He confessed to save his Dinner by it ; was adjudged to be paid by the chinking of his Coin. I remember, that walking in a long Gallery of the *Indian House* at *Amsterdam*, where vast Quantities of Mace, Cloves, and Nutmegs were kept in great open Chests, ranged

ranged all along one side of the Room ; I found something so reviving by the perfumed Air, that I took notice of it to the Company with me, which was a great deal ; and they all were sensible of the same Effect. Which is enough to shew the Power of Smells and their Operations, both upon Health and Humour.

Friction is of great and excellent Use, and of very general Practice in the Eastern Countries, especially after their frequent Bathings : It opens the Pores, and is the best way of all forced Perspiration ; is very proper and effectual in all Swellings and Pains of the Joints, or others in the Flesh, which are not to be drawn to a Head and break : 'Tis a Saying among the *Indians*, that
none

none can be much troubled with the Gout, who have Slaves enough to Rub them : And is the best Naturall Account of some Stories, I have heard of Persons, who were said to cure several Diseases by Stroaking.

Faſtations were used for some Amusement and Allay in great and constant Pains ; and to relieve that Intranquility which attends most Diseases, and makes Men often impatient of lying still in their Beds. Besides, they help or occasion Sleep, as we find, by the common Use and Experience of rocking froward Children in Cradles, or dandling them in their Nurses Arms. I remember an old Prince *Maurice* of *Nassau*, who had been accustomed to Hammocks in *Brazil*, and used them frequently
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all His Life after, upon the Pains he suffered by the Stone or Gout; and thought He found Ease, and was allured to sleep by the constant Motion or Swinging of those airy Beds; which was assisted by a Servant, if they moved too little, by the Springs upon which they hung.

In *Ægypt* of old, and at this time in *Barbary*, the general Method of Cures in most Diseases, is by burning with a hot Iron: So as the Bodies of their Slaves are found often to have many Scars upon them, remaining of those Operations. But this and other Uses and Effects of Fire, I have taken Notice enough of, in an Essay upon the *Indian Cure* by *Moxa* in the Gout.

The antient Native *Irish*, and the *Americans*, at the Time of
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the first *European* Discoveries and Conquests there, knew nothing of Physick beyond the Virtues of Herbs and Plants. And in this the most polish'd Nation agrees in a great measure with those that were esteemed most barbarous; and where the Learning and Voluptuousness are as great as were the native Simplicity and Ignorance of the others. For in *China*, though their Physicians are admirable in the Knowledge of the Pulse, and by that, in discovering the Causes of all inward Diseases; yet their Practice extends little further in the Cures, beyond the Methods of Diet, and the Virtues of Herbs and Plants, either inwardly taken, or outwardly applied.

In the Course of my Life, I have often pleas'd, or entertain'd my self
with

with observing the various and fantastical Changes of the Diseases generally complained of; and of the Remedies in common Vogue; Which were like Birds of Passage, very much seen or heard of at one Season, and disappeared at another, and commonly succeeded by some of a very different Kind. When I was very young, nothing was so much feared or talkt of as Rickets among Children, and Consumptions among young People of both Sexes. After these, the Spleen came in play, and grew a formal Disease: Then the Scurvy, which was the general Complaint, and both were thought to appear in many various Guises. After these, and for a time, nothing was so much talkt of as the Ferment of the Blood; which

passed for the Cause of all sorts of Ailments, that neither Physicians nor Patients knew well what to make of. And to all these, succeeded Vapours ; which serve the same Turn , and furnish Occasion of Complaint among Persons, whose Bodies or Minds ail something, but they know not what : And among the *Chineses* would pass for Mists of the Mind, or Fumes of the Brain, rather than Indispositions of any other Parts. Yet these employ our Physicians, perhaps more than other Diseases : Who are fain to humour such Patients in their Fancies of being ill ; and to prescribe some Remedies for fear of losing their Practice ; to others, that pretend more Skill in finding out the Cause of Diseases, or Care in advising

vifing Remedies, which neither they nor their Patients find any Effect of, befides fome Gains to one, and Amufement to the other. This, I fuppofe, may have contributed much to the Mode of going to the Waters either cold or hot, upon fo many Occafions, or elfe upon none, befides that of Entertainment; and which commonly may have no other Effect. And 'tis well if this be the worft of the frequent Ufe of thofe Waters, which though commonly Innocent, yet are fometimes dangerous, if the Temper of the Perfon, or Caufe of the Indifpofition be unhappily miftaken, efpecially in People of Age.

As Difeafes have changed Vogue, fo have Remedies in my Time and Obfervation. I

remember at one time, the taking
 of Tobacco, at another, the drink-
 + ing of warm Beer, proved for
 Universal Remedies. Then swal-
 lowing of Pebble-Stones, in imi-
 tation of Faulconers curing
 Hawks. One Doctor pretend-
 ed to help all Heats and Fea-
 vers, by drinking as much cold
 Spring-Water as the Patient could
 bear. At another time swallow-
 ing a Spoonful of Powder of
 Sea-bisquet after Meals, was in-
 fallible for all Indigestion, and
 so preventing Diseases. Then
 Coffee and Tea began their suc-
 cessive Reigns. The Infusion or
 Powder of Steel have had their
 Turns; and certain Drops of
 several Names and Compositi-
 ons. But none that I find, have
 established their Authority, either
 long or generally, by any con-
 stant

stant and sensible Successes of their Reign : But have rather passed like a Mode, which every one is apt to follow, and finds the most Convenient or Graceful while it lasts ; and begins to dislike in both those Respects when it goes out of Fashion.

Thus Men are apt to play with their Healths and their Lives as they do with their Cloaths : Which may be the better excused, since both are so transitory, so subject to be spoiled with common Use, to be torn by Accidents, and at best, to be so soon worn out. Yet the usual Practice of Physick among us runs still the same Course, and turns in a manner wholly upon Evacuation, either by Bleeding, Vomits, or some sorts of Purgation ; though it be not often

agreed among Physicians, in what Cases or what Degrees any of these are necessary : Nor among other Men, whether any of them are necessary or no. *Montagne* questions whether Purging ever be so, and from many ingenious Reasons : The *Chineses* never let Blood : And for the other, 'tis very probable that Nature knows Her own Wants and Times so well, and so easily finds Her own Relief that way, as to need little Assistance, and not well to receive the common Violences that are offered Her. I remember three in my Life and Observation, who were as downright killed with Vomits, as they could have been with Daggers. And I can say for my self, upon an Accident very near mortal, when I was young, that sending
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ing for the two best Physicians of the Town; the first prescribed me a Vomit, and immediately sent it me: I had the Grace or Sense to refuse it, till the other came; who told me if I had taken it, I could not have lived half an Hour. I observed a Consult of Physicians in a Feaver of one of my near Friends, perplexed to the last Degree whether to let Him Blood or no, and not able to resolve, till the Course of the Disease had declared it self, and thereby determined them. Another of my Friends was so often let Blood by His first Physician, that a second was sent for, questioned whether he would recover it: The first persisted, that Blood must be drawn till some Good appeared; the other affirmed,

firmed, that in such Diseases the whole Mass was corrupted, but would purify again, when the Accident was past, like Wine after a Fermentation, which makes all in the Vessel thick and foul for a season, but when that is past, grows clear again of it self. So much is certain; that it depends a great deal upon the Temper of the Patient, the Nature of the Disease in its first Causes, upon the Skill and Care of the Physician, to decide whether any of these Violences upon Nature are necessary or no; and whether they are like to do Good or Harm.

The rest of our common Practice consists in various Compositions of innocent Ingredients, which feed the Hopes of the Patient, and the Apothecary's Gains,
but

but leave Nature to her Course, who is the Sovereign Physician in most Diseases; and leaves little for others to do, further than to watch Accidents; where they know no Specifick Remedies, to prescribe Diets; and above all, to prevent Disorders from the Stomach, and take Care that Nature be not employed in the Kitchen, when She should be in the Field, to resist Her Enemy: And that She should not be weakened in her Spirits and Strength, when they are most necessary to support and relieve Her. 'Tis true, Physicians must be in danger of losing their Credit with the Vulgar, if they should often tell a Patient, He has no need of Physick, and prescribe only Rules of Diet or common Use; most People would think they had

had lost their Fee. But the first Excellence of a Physician's Skill and Care is discovered, by resolving, whether it be best in the Case, to administer any Physick or none, to trust to Nature or to Art : And the next to give such Prescriptions, as if they do no Good, may be sure to do no Harm.

In the midst of such Uncertainties of Health and of Physick, for my own part, I have in the general Course of my Life, and of many Acute Diseases, as well as some Habitual, trusted to God Almighty, to Nature, to Temperance or Abstinence, and the Use of common Remedies, either vulgarly known, and approved like Proverbs by long Observation and Experience, either of my own, or such Persons

sons as have fallen in the way of my Observation, or Enquiry.

Among the Plants of our Soil and Climate ; those I esteem of greatest Virtue, and most friendly to Health, are, *Sage*, *Rue*, *Saffron*, *Alehoof*, *Garlick*, and *Eldar*. *Sage* deserves not only the just Reputation it has been always in, of a very wholsom Herb in common Uses, and generally known ; but is admirable in Consumptive Coughs ; of which I have cured some very desperate, by a Draught every Morning of Spring-Water, with a Handful of *Sage* boiled in it, and continued for a Month. I do not question, that if it were used as Tea, it would have at least in all kinds as good an Effect upon Health, if not of so much Entertainment

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to the Taste, being perhaps not so agreeable. And I had reason to believe when I was in *Holland*, that vast quantities of *Sage* were carried to the *Indies* yearly, as well as of Tea brought over from those Countries into ours.

Rue is of excellent Use for all Illnesses of the Stomach, that proceed from cold or moist Humours; a great Digester and Restorer of Appetite; dispels Wind, helps Perspiration, drives out ill Humours; and thereby comes to be so much prescribed, and so commonly used in pestilent +
Airs, and upon Apprehensions of any Contagion. The only Ill of it lies in the too much or too frequent Use, which may lessen and impair the natural Heat of the Stomach, by the greater Heat of an Herb very hot and dry :
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And therefore the Juice made up with Sugar into small Pills, and swallowed only two or three at Nights or Mornings, and only when there is Occasion, is the most innocent Way of using it.

Saffron is of all others the safest and most simple Cordial, the greatest Reviver of the Heart, and Chearer of the Spirits, and cannot be of too common use in Diet, any more than in Medicine. The Spirit of *Saffron* is of all others the noblest and most innocent, and yet of the greatest Virtue. I have known it restore a Man out of the very Agonies of Death, when left by all Physicians as wholly desperate. But the Use of this and all Spirits ought to be employ'd only in Cases very urgent, either
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of Decays or Pains. For all Spirits have the same Effect with that mentioned of *Rue* ; which is, by frequent Use to destroy, and at last to extinguish the Natural Heat of the Stomach : As the frequent drinking Wine at Meals does in a degree, and with Time ; but that of all Strong Waters, more sensibly and more dangerously. Yet a long Custom of either cannot be suddenly broken, without Danger too ; and must be changed with Time, with lessening the Proportions by Degrees, with shorter first, and then with longer Intermissions.

Alehoof, or *Ground-Ivy*, is in my Opinion of the most excellent and most general Use and Virtue of any Plants we have among us. 'Tis allowed to be
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most sovereign for the Eyes, admirable in Frenzies, either taken inwardly, or outwardly applied. Besides, if there be a Specifick Remedy or Prevention of the Stone, I take it to be the constant Use of *Alehoof-Ale*, whereof I have known several Experiences by others; and can, I thank God, alledge my own, for about ten Years past. This is the Plant with which all our Ancestors made their common Drink, when the Inhabitants of this Island were esteemed the longest Livers of any in the known World. And the Stone is said to have first come amongst us, after Hops were introduced here, and the Staleness of Beer brought into Custom, by preserving it long. 'Tis known enough, how much this Plant has been decry'd, how

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generally soever it has been received in these Maritime Northern Parts : And the chief Reason, which I believe gave it Vogue at first, was the preserving Beer upon long Sea-Voyages ; But for common Health, I am apt to think, the Use of Heath or Broom, had been of much more Advantage ; though none yet invented of so great and general, as that of *Alehoof* ; which is certainly the greatest Clenser of any Plant known among us : and which in old *English* signified, that which was necessary to the making of Ale : The common, or rather universal Drink heretofore of our Nation.

Garlick has of all our Plants the greatest Strength, affords most Nourishment, and supplies most

most Spirits to those who eat little Flesh, as the poorer People seldom do in the hotter, and especially the more Eastern Climates. So that the Labour of the World seems to be performed by the Force and Virtue of *Garlick*, *Leeks*, and *Onions*; no other Food of Herbs or Plants yielding Strength enough for much Labour. *Garlick* is of great Virtue in all Cholicks, a great Strengthenener of the Stomach upon Decays of Appetite, or Indigestion: And I believe, is (if at least there be any Such) a Specifick Remedy of the Gout. I have known great Testimonies of this kind within my Acquaintance, and have never used it my self upon this occasion, without an Opinion of some Success or Advantage. But I could ne-

ver long enough bear the Constraint of a Diet, I found not very agreeable my self ; and at least fancied, offensive to the Company I conversed with.

Besides, this Disease is to me so Hereditary, and come into my Veins from so many Ancestors, that I have Reason to despair of any Cure but the last ; and content my self, to fence against it by Temperance and Patience, without hopes of conquering such an inveterate Enemy. Therefore I leave the Use of *Garlick* to such as are inveigled into the Gout, by the Pleasure of too much Drinking ; the ill Effects whereof, are not more relieved by any other Diet, than by this Plant, which is so great a Dryer and Opener, especially by Perspiration. Nor is it less
used

used in many Parts abroad, as
 Physick, than as Food. In several
 Provinces of *France*, 'tis usual
 to fall into a Diet of *Garlick*,
 for a Fortnight or three Weeks,
 upon the first fresh Butter of the
 Spring; and the common People
 esteem it a Preservative against
 the Diseases of the ensuing
 Year: And a Broth of *Garlick* or
Onions, is so generally used the
 next Day after a Debauch, as to
 be called, *Soupe à l'yvroigne*. This
 is enough to shew the Use, as well
 as Virtues of this Northern Spice;
 which is in mighty Request among
 the *Indians* themselves, in
 the midst of so many others, that
 enrich and perfume those noble
 Regions.

Eldar is of great Virtue in all
 Indispositions arising from any
 watry Humours: And not
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only the Flowers and Berries, but even the green Bark are used with Effect, and perhaps equal Success in their several Seasons. I have been told of some great Cures of the Gout, by the succeeding Use of all three throughout the Year : But I have been always too Libertin for any great and long Subjections, to make the Tryals. The Spirit of *Eldar* is Sovereign in Cholicks ; and the use of it in general, very beneficial in Scurvies and Dropfies ; though in the last, I esteem Broom yet of more Virtue, either brewed in common Drink, or the Ashes taken in White-wine every Morning : Which may perhaps pass for a Specifick Remedy ; whereof we may justly complain, that after so long Experience of so learned

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ed a Profession as Physick, we yet know so very few.

That which has passed of later Years, for the most allowed in this kind, has been the *Quinquina*, or Jesuits Powder in Feavers, but especially Agues. I can say nothing of it upon any Experience of my own, nor many within my Knowledge. I remember its Entrance upon our Stage with some Disadvantage, and the Repute of leaving no Cures, without Danger of worse Returns. But the Credit of it seems now to be established by common Use and Prescription, and to be improved by new and singular Preparations; whereof, I have very good and particular Reasons to affirm, that they are all Amusements; and, that what Virtue there is in this Remedy,

+ lies in the naked Simple it self, as it comes over from the *Indies*, and in the Choice of that which is least dried, or perished by the Voyage.

+ The next Specifick I esteem to be that little Insect called *Millepedes* : The Powder whereof made up into little Balls with fresh Butter, I never knew fail of curing any sore Throat : It must lie at the Root of the Tongue, and melt down at leisure upon going to Bed. I have been assured that Doctor *Mayerne* used it, as a certain Cure for all Cancers in the Breast ; and should be very tedious if I should tell here, how much the Use of it has been extolled by several within my Knowledge, upon the admirable Effects for the Eyes, the Scurvy, and the Gout ;

Gout : But there needs no more to value it, than what the ancient Physicians affirm of it in those three Words ;

Digerit, Aperit, Abstergit.
It Digests, It Opens, It Cleanses.

For Rheums in the Eyes and the Head, I take a Leaf of *Tobacco*. put into the Nostrils for an Hour each Morning, to be a Specifick Medicine : Or *Betany*, if the other be too strong or offensive. The Effect of both is to draw Rheums off the Head, through their proper and natural Channel. And, old Prince *Maurice* of *Nassau* told me, He had by this preserved his Eyes to so great an Age, after the Danger of losing them at thirty Years old : And I have ever since used

used it with the same Success, after great Reasons near that Age to apprehend the Loss or Decays of mine.

In Times and Places of great Contagion, the strongest Preservative yet known, is a Piece of *Myrrhe* held in the Mouth, when, or where the Danger is most apprehended : Which I have both practised and taught many others with Success, in several Places, where cruel Plagues have raged : Though in such Cases, after all, the best and safest is to run away as soon as one can. Yet, upon this Occasion, I think *Myrrhe* may pass for a Specifick in Prevention ; and may for ought I know, be of Use in Remedies, as the greatest Enemy of Corruption ; which is known by the Use of Embalmings in the East. For

For all Illnesses of Stomach,
 or Indigestions, proceeding from
 hot and sharp Humours ; to which
 my whole Family has been much
 subject, as well as very many
 of my Acquaintance ; and for
 which, Powder of Crabs-Eyes
 and Claws, and burnt Egg-Shells
 are often prescribed as Sweet-
 ners of any sharp Humours.
 I have never found any thing of
 much or certain Effect, besides
 the eating of *Strawberries*, com-
 mon *Cherries*, white *Figs*, soft
Peaches, or *Grapes*, before every
 Meal during their Seasons ; and
 when those are past, *Apples* after
 Meals ; but all must be very
 ripe. And this by my own and
 all my Friends Experience who
 have tryed it, I reckon for a
 Specifick Medicine in this Ill-
 ness so frequently complained
 of:

of: At least, for the two first
 I never knew them fail ; and
 the usual Quantity is about forty
 + *Cherries*, without swallowing
 either Skin or Stone. I observe
 this the rather, because the Re-
 course commonly made in this
 Case to strong Waters, I esteem
 + very pernicious, and which ine-
 vitably destroys the Stomach
 with frequent Use. The best
 at least, most innocent of all di-
 still'd Liquors is *Milk-Water*.
 + made with *Balm, Carduus, Mint,*
 and *Wormwood* ; which has many
 good Effects in Illnesses of the
 Stomach, and none ill. The best
 and safest strong Water, if any
 be so, for common Use, I e-
 + steeem to be that made of *Juni-*
per Berries, especially in Acci-
 dents of Stone and Cholick.

Of all Cordials, I esteem my Lady *Kent's* Powder the best, the most innocent, and the most universal: Though the common Practice of Physick abounds in nothing more, and the Virtue seems to be little else, besides an Allusion of the Name to the Heart.

Upon the Gout I have writ what I had known or practised, in an Essay of *Moxa*; and upon the Spleen, what I had observed in a Chapter, upon the Dispositions of the People in the *Netherlands*. I shall only add for the Help of my Fellow-Sufferers in the first; that besides what is contained in that former Essay, and since those Pains have grown more diffused, and less fixed in one Point, so as to be burned with *Moxa*, which never failed

failed of giving me present Ease ;
 I have found the most Benefit
 from three Methods. The first,
 is that of moving the Joint where
 the Pain begins , as long as I
 am able in my Bed ; which I
 have often done, and counted
 five or six hundred times or more,
 till I found first a great Heat,
 and then Perspiration in the Part :
 The Heat spends or disperses the
 Humour within, and the Perspi-
 ration drives it out : And I have
 escaped many Threats of ill Fits
 by these Motions : If they go
 on, the only Poltice or Plaister
 I have dealt with, is Wool from
 the Belly of a fat Sheep, which
 has often given me Ease in a ve-
 ry little time. If the Pains grow
 sharp, and the Swellings so dif-
 fused, as not to be burned with
Moxa ; the best Remedy I have
 found,

found, is from a Piece of Scarlet dipt in scalding Brandy, laid upon the afflicted Part, and the Heat often renewed, by dropping it upon the Scarlet as hot as can be endured. And from this I have often found the same Success as from *Moxa*, and without breaking the Skin, or leaving any Sore.

To what I have said in another Place of the Spleen, I shall only add here, that whatever the Spleen is; whether a Disease of the Part so called, or of People that ail something, but they know not what; It is certainly a very ill Ingredient into any other Disease, and very often dangerous. For as Hope is the sovereign Balsam of Life, and the best Cordial in all Distempers both of Body or Mind; so Fear,
and

and Regret, and melancholy Apprehensions, which are the usual Effects of the Spleen, with the Distractions, Disquiets, or at least, Intranquility they occasion, are the worst Accidents that can attend any Diseases; and make them often mortal, which would otherwise pass, and have had but a common Course. I have known the most busy Ministers of State, most fortunate Courtiers, most vigorous Youths, most beautiful Virgins in the Strength or Flower of their Age, sink under common Distempers, by the Force of such Weights, and the cruel Damps and Disturbances thereby given their Spirits and their Blood. 'Tis no matter what is made the Occasion, if well improved by Spleen and melancholy Apprehensions: A disappointed

pointed Hope, a Blot of Honour, a Strain of Conscience, an unfortunate Love, an aking Jealousy, a repining Grief, will serve the Turn, and all alike.

I remember an ingenious Physician, who told me in the Fanatick Times, He found most of His Patients so disturbed by Troubles of Conscience, that He was forced to play the Divine with them, before He could begin the Physician : Whose greatest Skill perhaps often lies in the infusing of Hopes, and inducing some Composure and Tranquility of Mind, before they enter upon the other Operations of their Art : And this ought to be the first Endeavour of the Patient too ; without which, all other Medicines may lose their Virtue.

The two great Blessings of Life are, in my Opinion, *Health* and *good Humour* ; and none contribute more to one another ; Without *Health*, all will allow Life to be but a Burthen ; and the several Conditions of Fortune to be all wearysom, dull, or disagreeable without *good Humour* : Nor does any seem to contribute towards the true Happiness of Life, but as it serves to increase that Treasure, or to preserve it. Whatever other Differences are commonly apprehended in the several Conditions of Fortune, none perhaps will be found so true or so great, as what is made by those two Circumstances, so little regarded in the common Course or Pursuits of Mortal Men.

Whe-

Whether Long-life be a Blessing or no, God Almighty only can determine, who alone knows what Length it is like to run, and how 'tis like to be attended. *Socrates* used to say, that 'twas pleasant to grow old with good Health and a good Friend; and He might have Reason. A Man may be content to live, while He is no Trouble to Himself or His Friends, but after that, 'tis hard if He be not content to die. I knew and esteemed a Person abroad, who used to say, a Man must be a mean Wretch, that desired to live after threescore Years old. But So much I doubt is certain; that in Life as in Wine, He that will drink it good, must not draw it to the Dregs.

Where this happens, one Comfort of Age may be , That, whereas younger Men are usually in Pain, when they are not in Pleasure ; Old Men find a sort of Pleasure, whenever they are out of Pain. And as Young Men often lose or impair their present Enjoyments, by raving after what is to come, by vain Hopes , or fruitless Fears ; So Old Men relieve the Wants of their Age, by pleasing Reflections upon what is past. Therefore Men, in the Health and Vigour of their Age, should endeavour to fill their Lives with Reading, with Travel, with the best Conversation, and the worthiest Actions , either in their Publick or Private Stations ; that they may have something agreeable left to feed on, when they are

are Old, by pleasing Remembrances.

But, as they are only the Clean Beasts which chew the Cud, when they have fed enough; so they must be Clean and Virtuous Men, that can reflect with Pleasure upon the past Accidents or Courses of their Lives. Besides, Men who grow old with good Sense, or good Fortunes, and good Nature, cannot want the Pleasure of pleasing others, by assisting with their Gifts, their Credit, their Advice, such as deserve it; as well as their Care of Children, Kindness to Friends, and Bounty to Servants.

But there cannot indeed live a more unhappy Creature, than an Ill-natured Old Man, who is neither capable of receiving Pleasures, nor sensible of doing them

them to others; and in such a Condition, 'tis time to leave them.

Thus have I traced in this Essay, whatever has fallen in my Way or Thoughts, to observe concerning Life and Health, and which I conceived might be of any Publick Use, to be known or considered: The Plainness wherewith 'tis written, easily shews, there could be no other Intention: And it may at least pass like a *Darby-shire* Charm, which is used among sick Cattle, with these Words; If it does thee no Good, it will do thee no Harm.

To sum up all; The first Principle of Health and Long-life, is derived from the Strength of our Race or our Birth, which gave Occasion to that Saying, *Gau-*
deant

deant benè nati : Let them rejoice that are happily born. Accidents are not in our Power to govern : So that the best Cares or Provisions for Life and Health that are left us, consist in the discreet and temperate Government of Diet and Exercise : In both which, all Excess is to be avoided, especially in the common Use of Wine : Whereof, the first Glass may pass for Health, the second for good Humour, the third for our Friends ; But the fourth is for our Enemies.

For Temperance in other kinds, or in general, I have given its Character and Virtues in the Essay of *Moxa*, so as to need no more upon that Subject here.

When in default or despite of all these Cares, or by Ef-

fects of ill Airs and Seasons, acute or strong Diseases may arise : Recourse must be had to the best Physicians that are in reach ; whose Success will depend upon Thought and Care, as much as Skill. In all Diseases of Body or Mind, 'tis happy to have an able Physician for a Friend, or a discreet Friend for a Physician ; which is so great a Blessing, that the Wise Man will have it to proceed only from God, where He says: *A faithful Friend is the Medicine of Life, and He that fears the Lord shall find Him.*

Essay III.

SOME THOUGHTS

Upon Reviewing the

ESSAY

OF

Antient and Modern

LEARNING.

THE
THOUGHTS
OF
AN ANCIENT AND MODERN
LEARNED

S O M E
T H O U G H T S
Upon Reviewing the
E S S A Y
O F
Antient and Modern
LEARNING.

I Have been induced by several Motives to take a further Survey of the Controversy arisen of late Years, concerning the Excellence of Antient or Modern Learning.
First

First, the common Interest of Learning in general, and particularly in our Universities; and to prevent the Discouragement of Scholars, in all Degrees, from reading the Antient Authors, who must be acknowledged to have been the Foundation of all Modern Learning, whatever the Superstructures may have been. Next, a just Indignation at the Insolence of the Modern Advocates, in defaming those Heroes among the Antients, whose Memory has been sacred and admired for so many Ages ; as *Homer, Virgil, Pythagoras, Democritus*, &c. This I confess, gave me the same kind of Horror I should have had, in seeing some young barbarous *Goths* or *Vandals*, breaking or defacing the admirable Statues of those antient Heroes

roes of *Greece* or *Rome*, which had so long preserved their Memories honoured and almost adored, for so many Generations.

My last Motive was, to vindicate the Credit of our Nation, as others have done that of the *French*, from the Imputation of this Injustice and Presumption that the Modern Advocates have used in this Case. For which End, it will be necessary to relate the whole State of this Controversy.

It is by themselves confest, that till the new Philosophy had gotten Ground in these Parts of the World, which is about fifty or sixty Years date, there were but few that ever pretended to exceed or equal the Antients ; those that did, were only some
Phy-

Physicians, as *Paracelsus* and His Disciples, who introduced new Notions in Physick, and new Methods of Practice, in opposition to the Galenical ; and this chiefly from Chymical Medicines or Operations. But these were not able to maintain their Pre-
tence long ; the Credit of their Cures as well as their Reasons soon decaying with the Novelty of them, which had given them Vogue at first.

Des-Cartes was the next that would be thought to excel the Antients, by a new Scheme or Body of Philosophy, which I am apt to think, he had a Mind to impose upon the World, as *Nostradamus* did his Prophecies, only for their own Amusement, and without either of them believing any of it themselves :
For

For *Des-Cartes* among his Friends, allways called His Philosophy, *His Romance*. Which makes it as pleasant to hear young Scholars posselt with all his Notions, as to see Boys taking *Amadis*, and the *Mirror of Knighthood*, for true Stories.

The next that fate up for the Excellency of the new Learning above the old, were some of *Gresham-Colledge*, after the Institution of that Society by King *Charles the Second*: These began eagerly to debate and pursue this Pretence, and were followed by the *French Academy*, who took up the Controversy more at large, and descended to many Particulars: Monsieur *Fontenelle* gave the Academy the Preference in Poetry and Oratory, as well as in Philosophy and Mathe-

Mathematicks ; and Monsieur *Perrault*, in Painting and Architecture, as well as Oratory and Poetry ; setting up the Bishop of *Meaux* against *Pericles* and *Thucydides* ; the Bishop of *Niemes* against *Isocrates* ; *F. Bourdelone* against *Nicias* ; *Balsac* against *Cicero* ; *Voiture* against *Pliny* ; *Boileau* against *Horace* ; and *Corneille* against all the antient and famous Dramatick Poets.

About five or six Years ago, these modern Pretences were opposed, in an *Essay upon Antient and Modern Learning* ; And the *Miscellanea* (whereof that Essay was a Part) being translated into *French* ; the Members of that Academy were so concerned and ashamed, that a Stranger should lay such an Infamy upon some of their Society, as Want of
Re-

Reverence for the Antients, and the Presumption of preferring the Moderns before them ; that they fell into great Indignation against the few Criminals among them ; they began to pelt them with Satyrs and Epigrams in writing, and with bitter Railleries in their Discourses and Conversations ; and led them such a Life, that they soon grew weary of their new-fangled Opinions ; which had perhaps been taken up at first, only to make their Court, and at second hand to flatter those who had flatter'd their King.

Upon the *Miscellanea's* first printing in *Paris*, Monsieur *Boileau* made this short Satyr.

*Quelqu'un vint l'autre jour se
 plaindre au Dieu des Vers
 Qu'en certain lieu de l'Univers
 P L'on*

*L'on traite d'Auteurs froids, de Po-
etes steriles,*

*Les Homeres & les Virgiles :
Cela ne sauroit être, l'on se mocque
de vous,*

*Reprit Apollon en courroux ;
Ou peut on avancer une telle infamie ?*

*Est ce ches les Hurons, ches les
Topinambous ?*

*C'est a Paris. C'est donc á l'Hôpi-
tal de fous ;*

*Non, c'est au Louvre en pleine A-
cademie.*

Upon the same Occasion, and about the same time, Monsieur Racine made this other, which more particularly touched Monsieur Perrault, as the first did Monsieur Fontenelle.

D'ou

D'ou vient, que Ciceron, Platon,
 Virgile, Homere,
 Et tous ces grands Auteurs que l'uni-
 vers revere,
 Traduits en vos ecrits nous paroif-
 sent si sots,
 Perrault ? C'est qu'en prêtant á ces
 esprits sublimes
 Vos facons de parler, vos bassesses,
 vos rymes,
 Vous les fais tous paroître des Per-
 raults.

Some of the French Acade-
 my took the Care to send these,
 and other such Pieces into Eng-
 land, and other Countries, to
 clear their Reputation from the
 Slander drawn upon them by two
 or three of their Body ; and treat-
 ed the Reverence of the Antients
 as something Sacred, and the

Want of it, as Barbarous and Prophane.

Monfieur *Perrault*, to escape the reft of this Storm, foon changed His Party, profefling it upon all Occafions ; and to fhew the Truth of his Conversion, publish'd among other fmall Pieces, the Dialogue in *Homer* between *Hector* and *Andromache*, which He had tranflated into *French*, and prefented to the Academy, *March* the 3^d 1693. after a Speech made them upon this Subject, wherein are thefe Lines ; both the Verfes and the Speech, being fince printed together.

“ Whatever Care I have taken
 “ to praife *Homer* upon all Oc-
 “ cafions, and to acknowledge
 “ Him for the moft excellent,
 “ the vafteft, and the nobleft
 Genius

“ Genius, that has ever been in
 “ Poefy ; Yet, becaufe I had ta-
 “ ken the Liberty of remarking
 “ fome Defaults in His Works,
 “ Men have rifen up againft me,
 “ as if I had committed fome
 “ High Treafon : And that which
 “ ought to have been regarded
 “ but as the Part of a Gramma-
 “ rian, has been taken up as an
 “ audacious Enterprize, which
 “ deferved all the Scorn and In-
 “ dignation of *Parnaffus*.

“ Now, that I may not be be-
 “ lieved to have fo ill a Taft,
 “ as to be infenfible of the Beau-
 “ ties of this excellent Poet, and
 “ to admire what is admirable in
 “ Him , I have tranflated one
 “ of the fineft Paflages of his
 “ *Iliades* : I thought, if the Pro-
 “ teftations I have fo often made,
 “ to honour the Author of this

“ Poem , could not perswade
 “ the World ; yet this Transla-
 “ tion might do it , since it is
 “ certain, that one would not
 “ take the Pains to translate into
 “ *French* a Piece of *Greek* Poe-
 “ sy, unless one extreamly e-
 “ steemed it.

By this it appears, with what
 Indignation and Scorn this new
 Opinion of our Modern Admi-
 rers, has been used in *France* ;
 and how penitent a Recantation,
 Monsieur *Perrault* thought fit
 to make for his former Errors.
 So as those, who have since fol-
 lowed and defended him, or his
 first Opinions, seem to have been
 decoyed into the Net by ano-
 ther Duck, that flew away as
 soon as they were caught. There-
 fore the late Objections against
 that Essay, and in favour of the
 Mo-

Moderns, seem to have been writ, without any Intelligence of what passed at *Paris* before, or about that time ; having had the ill Fortune to be deserted in *France*, and not countenanced, that I know of, in *England*. For the learned Author of the *Anti-deluvian* World, though most concerned in that Essay upon this Subject, has been so far from defending this new Assertion, that he has since published his *Archæologiæ*, and therein shewn both his great Knowledg and Esteem of the antient Learning ; and proved thereby, that whoever knows it, must esteem it : And left such Modern Advocates for an Evidence of the contrary, that whoever despises it, in comparison of the new, does not know it.

The Modern Advocates to destroy the Monuments of antient Learning, first think it necessary to shew, what mean contemptible Men were the Founders of it, and fall foul upon *Pythagoras*, the seven *Sages*, *Empedocles*, and *Democritus*.

For *Pythagoras*, they are so gracious as to give him some quarter, and allow him to be a wiser Man than the Fools among whom he lived, in an ignorant Age and Country : In short, they are content he should pass for a Lawgiver, but by no means, for a Philosopher. Now the good Judgment shewn in this wise Censure of so great a Man, will easily appear to all that know him. *Pythagoras* was indeed desired, to frame the Institutions of a Civil State in a small Town
of

of *Italy*, where he lived; but that he had the Misfortune to perish by a Sedition, in the Government he had formed: So that there remain no Records or Traces of any of his Civil Institutions. Whereas on the other side, he has in all Ages, from his own till our time, by all learned Nations and Persons, even Christians as well as Pagans, been esteemed the Prince of Philosophers; and to have excell'd in all Natural and Moral Knowledg, as well as Civil and Mathematical: From him *Socrates* derived the Principles of Vertue and Morality, as well as *Plato*, both these, and most of his Natural Speculations: Nor was the Memory of any other Philosopher so adored by all his Followers: Nor any of their Instructions so successful,

cesful, in forming the Lives of the most excellent Men, whereof three were bred up together under a *Pythagorean* Philosopher at *Thebes*, who were not excelled by any others of their own, nor perhaps succeeding Ages; which were *Epaminondas*, *Pelopidas*, and *Philip* of *Macedon*.

To discredit all the Fountains from which *Pythagoras* is said to have drawn his admirable Knowledge; they cannot guess, to what Purpose he should have gone to *Delphos*, nor that *Apollo's* Priestesses there, should have been famous for discovering Secrets in Natural or Mathematical Matters, or Moral Truths : In this they discover their deep Knowledge of Antiquity, taking the Oracle of *Delphos* to have been
ma-

managed by some frantick or fanatick Wenches ; whereas the *Pythia's* there, were only Engines managed by the Priests of *Delphos*, who like those of *Ægypt*, were a Colledge or Society of wise and learned Men, in all sorts of Sciences ; though the Use of them was in a manner wholly applied to the Honour and Service of their Oracle. And we may guess at the rest, by the last High Priest we know of at *Delphos*, I mean *Plutarch*, the best and most learned Man of his Age, if we may judg by the Writings he has left. Nor could it have been without the sage Councils, the wise Answers, or ingenious and ambiguous Evasions of these *Delphick* Priests, that the Credit of that Oracle should have continued for so long

long a Course of Time, as from the Age of the *Argonauts*, (and how much before, no Man knows) to the latter End, at least, of *Trajan's* Reign, wherein *Plutarch* writ : And how great the Credit was, wherein that Oracle was preserved by the wise Conduct of their Priests, may be gathered from the vast Riches which were there heaped up, from the Offerings of all the *Græcian*, and so many distant Nations. For before the Seizure made of the Temple at *Delphos* by the *Phoceans*, they were reported by some antient Authors, to have been as great as those which *Alexander* found in the Palaces and Treasuries of the Kings of *Persia* ; and 'tis agreed, that the *Phoceans*, to pay their Armies in the Sacred War, made
bold

bold at once with such a Part of those Treasures, as amounted to above ten thousand Talents.

I have been sometimes apt to think, from the prodigious Thunders, and Lightnings, and Storms, by which this Temple is said, in the best antient Authors, to have been defended from the *Persians* and the *Gauls*; that the Priests of *Delphos* had some admirable Knowledg of that kind, which was called Magical; or that they knew the Use and Force of Gun-powder, so many Ages since, and reserved it, as they did the Effects of all their Sciences, for the Service of their God: Nor if it were so, would it be stranger, that such an Invention should have been found out then by the Priests of *Delphos*

phos, than that it was so of late, by a poor *German Fryer*.

For the seven *Sages*, who are treated like the wise Men of *Gotham*, and, I doubt by Such, as are alike acquainted with both ; I shall say nothing in their Defence, but direct the Reader to the Essay it self.

For *Empedocles* and *Democritus*, I confess, the Modern Advocates could not have done their Cause or themselves more right, than in chusing these two great Men of the Antients, after *Thales* and *Pythagoras*, for the Objects of their Scorn ; for none among them had ever so great Esteem, and almost Veneration as these four. The two last were the Heads or Founders of the *Ionick* and *Italic* Sects of Philosophers ; and brought

brought not only Astronomy and Mathematicks, but Natural and Moral Philosophy first among the *Grecians* ; whom we may observe in *Homer's* time, to have been as barbarous as the *Thracians*, governed by nothing but Will and Passion, Violence, Cruelty, and sottish Superstition.

Empedocles was the Glory and the Boast of *Sicily* ; and of whom his Countryman *Diodorus*, who was most particular in the Story of all that was wonderful in that Island, says, that the Birth of *Empedocles* had been Glory enough to *Sicily*, though nothing else, great or excellent, had been produced there. He was an admirable Poet, and thought even to have approached *Homer*, in a Poem he writ of Natural Philosophy ; and from which, *A-*
ristotle

ristole is believed to have drawn the Body of his, so much followed afterwards in the World. He first invented the Art of Oratory, and the Rules of it. He was an admirable Physician, and stopt a Plague at *Agrigentum*, by the Disposal of Fires, which purged the Air. He performed such Cures of desperate Diseases, that for this, and his foretelling many strange Events, his Citizens would have given him Divine Honours. He had so much Credit in his State, that he changed the Form and Number of their great Council; and was offered the Principality of *Agrigentum*, but refused it; being as excellent in his Morals, as in all other Sciences.

Democritus was the Founder of that Sect, which made so much
Noise

Noise afterwards in the World, under the Name of *Epicurus*; who owed him both his Atoms and his Vacuum in his Natural Philosophy, and his Tranquility of Mind in his Morals; He spent a vast Patrimony in Pursuit of Learning, by his Travels, to learn of the *Magi* in *Chaldæa*, the Priests in *Ægypt*, as far as those of *Meroë*, and the *Gymnosophists* of *India*. He was admirable in Physick, in the Knowledge of Natural Causes and Events: He left many Writings in all Sorts of Sciences; whereof one, *Of the World*, was sold for an hundred Talents: And 'tis obvious to guess at the Value of the rest by that of this one: For it may be presumed with Appearance enough, that what Person soever has written

Q

one

one excellent Book, will never write an ill one ; as on t'other side, whoever has writ and published one foolish Book, will never write a good one. If we knew nothing of *Democritus*, but from that excellent Epistle of *Hippocrates* to *Demagetus*, with an Account of the Wisdom of *Democritus*, and the Folly of the *Abderites* ; the Testimony of one so great Man, might have left some little Respect for the other. But this is a just Return upon him, after two thousand Years ; *Democritus* laughed at the World, and our Modern Learned laugh at *Democritus*.

I think, the Excellency of the Antient or Modern Sciences, may be further concluded, from the Greatness and Excellency of those Effects, that have been produced

duced by those Causes ; and to this End, I might be allowed to Describe, or rather Transcribe out of the best antient Authors the Accounts that are left us, of the Walls of *Babylon*, with the Palace and Temple of *Belus*, built by the *Assyrians*. The Town and Fortrefs of *Ecbatan*, by the *Medes*. The City and Palace of *Persepolis*, by the *Persians*. The Pyramids and Obelisks of *Ægypt*, the Temple of *Vulcan* there, with the Lake and Labyrinth of *Mæris*. The *Colossus* of *Rhodes*. The Station for two hundred Gallies at *Carthage* ; built upon two hundred Arches in the Sea, with Galleries over them, to hold their Stores. The Amphitheatres and Aqueducts at *Rome*. The Bridge of *Trajan* over the *Danube*. The Seven

Towers at *Byzantium*, when it was taken and ruined by *Severus*; built with such admirable Art, that any Words spoken at the first, were convey'd from one to t'other, till the very last, tho' all at distances between them.

These, and many other Productions of the Antients, tho' perhaps as little valued by the Moderns, as their Worthies; yet I confess, are beyond my Comprehension, how they could be effected, without some other Mathematical Skill and Engins, than have been since known in the World.

I might add upon the Subject of Naval Fabrick, wherein we seem most justly to have Advantage; the two prodigious Ships or Gallies built, the one by *Hiero* at *Syracuse*, and sent from
thence

thence into *Ægypt* ; wherein were not only contained all Apartments for a Prince's Palace and Attendants ; but a Garden with natural Flowers and Fruits, and Fish-ponds, and other usual Ornaments of great Palaces. The other was built by *Ptolomy Philopater* at *Alexandria* ; and besides Room for the King's Court, Attendants, and Guards, contained four thousand Men at the Oar.

I might further relate from the most credited Authors, those long and stupendious Defences, that were made at *Tyre*, against all the Forces of *Alexander* ; at *Rhodes*, against *Demetrius* ; and at *Syracuse* against the *Roman* Powers, by the sole Force of Mathematical Skill and Engins ; which raised such vast Weights

into the Air, with such Ease, and directed their Fall with such Certainty, as might have almost given Credit to that bold Word of *Archimedes* ; *Give me but where to stand firm, and I will remove the Earth.*

But, 'tis enough to give these Instances, of the wonderful Effects and Operations of the Antient Sciences, and thereby Occasion of Enquiry, and I am sure, Entertainment, to such as are not acquainted with them.

In the mean time, since the Modern Advocates yield, though very unwillingly, the Preeminence of the Antients in Poetry, Oratory, Painting, Statuary, and Architecture ; I shall proceed to examine the Account they give of those Sciences, wherein they affirm the Moderns to excell the An-

Antients ; whereof they make the chief to be, the Invention of Instruments ; Chymistry ; Anatomy ; Natural History of Minerals, Plants, and Animals ; Astronomy, and Opticks ; Musick ; Physick ; Natural Philosophy ; Philology, and Theology : Of all which, I shall take a short Survey. :: :: :: :: :: :: :: :: :: ::

Here it is supposed, the Knowledge of the Antients and Moderns in the Sciences last mentioned, was to have been compared ; But, whether the Author designed to have gone through such a Work Himself, or intended these Papers only for Hints to some body else that desired them, is not known.

After which the rest was to follow, written in his own Hand, as before.

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Though it may easily be conjectured, from the wonderful Productions of the Antients, how great their Sciences were, especially in the Mathematicks; which is of all other the most valuable, to the Use and Benefit of Mankind; yet we have all the Testimonies besides, that can be given, of the Height they were at among the *Ægyptians*, from the ingenuous Confessions of the *Greek* Authors, as well as from the Voyages that were made into *Ægypt*, *Phœnicia*, *Babylon*, and even the *Indies*, by those who were allowed for the greatest among the *Greek* Lawgivers and Philosophers; whereof so distinct an Account has been given in that Essay of the *Miscellanea* (already mentioned,) upon

upon Antient and Modern Learning: But the Modern Advocates can believe nothing of it, because we know none of the Records or Histories of those Nations remaining, but what was left us by the *Greeks*; and conclude the Infancy of the *Ægyptians* in other Sciences, because they left no Account of their own History, or the Reigns of their Kings.

I might content my self with what has been already made so plain in this Matter, by shewing, how those antient Eastern Nations were generally without Learning, except what was possess'd by the Priests, and preserved as sacred in their Colleges and Temples; so that when those came to be ruined, their Learning was so too. It
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has been also demonstrated in the same Essay, how all the Traces and Memorials of Learning and Story, may be lost in a Nation, by the Conquest of barbarous People, great Plagues, and great Inundations ; and for Instance ; how little is known in *Ireland*, of what is so generally believed, of Learning having flourished there. And how little we should know, even of antient *Greece* or *Italy*, or other Parts of *Europe*, and *Asia* , if the two learned Languages of *Greek* and *Latin* had not been preserved , and continued in Credit and in Use among the few Pretenders to any sort of Learning, in those Parts of the World, upon the Ravages and Destructions in them, by the barbarous Northern Nations.

But

But to put this Matter past Dispute, I shall shew more particularly, when and how, the Antient Learning decay'd in those Nations where it so much flourished, in the Height of their Empires ; and fell or declined with the Loss of their Liberties, or Subjection to new Conquerors.

I will not determine, from what Antiquity of Time, Learning flourish'd among the *Ægyptians* or *Assyrians* ; because these Moderns will not allow the plainest Accounts given us by the best *Greek* and *Latin* Authors, of the Duration of those Empires, tho' not contrary to the Periods allowed us by the Scriptures : But the Reasons they give for not believing them, seem too weak and frivolous to be taken
notice

notice of: As first, That we have no Account of the *Assyrian* Kings in Scripture, till *Tiglatb-Pileser*, and others; whereas, the Scriptures take no notice of the Story, of either *Ægyptians*, *Assyrians*, *Tyrians*, or *Sydonian* Governments, but as they had at some certain times, a Relation to the Affairs of the *Jews* or their Commonwealth. And as it has never succeeded with so many learned Men, that have spent their whole Time and Pains, to agree the Sacred with the Profane Chronology, (not to except *Sir John Marsham's* great Industry) so I never expect to see it done to any Purpose. Their next Reason is, because we have no Account of the Actions of so many *Assyrian* Kings, as are reckoned from *Semiramis* to

to *Sardanapalus* ; they cannot conceive, that their Lives were past in their Palaces, and the Entertainments of Leisure and Pleasure , during the uninterrupted Felicity, as well as vast Extent of their Empire, beyond the Desires of encreasing, or the Fears of losing any part of it, while the excellent Orders at first established, were observed ; and thereby, as well as by their Princes seldom appearing out of their vast Palaces and Paradises, (or Gardens and Parks about them) the Adoration of those Kings was preserved among their Subjects.

Now I confess, a Man of an easy and quiet Temper, might be allowed, hardly to imagine, what Kings in such a Posture of Fortune and Power should do,
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more than to preserve the Order and Quiet of their Kingdoms; or how they should furnish their Ages with more Story, than of their Magnificence in their Buildings and Treasures; Nor do we find much more recorded, of *Solomon's* long and happy Reign among the *Jews*: Nor are they, in the *Miscellanea*, employed in Gardening all that time, though the first Accounts of Gardening are there deduced from *Assyria*. But, suppose those idle Kings, besides the Entertainments of Luxury and Pleasure, should have spent their Time (or what lay upon their Hands) in Chymistry, in Anatomy, in the Stories of Plants and Animals; in Opticks and Philology; in such Speculations as the Royal Society entertain themselves and the World with;

with ; or in conversing with their *Magi*, or other learned Men: I hope it cannot be denyed, but Princes might pass their Lives in such Entertainments, without bloody and violent Actions, that make the Subject of common History.

And yet who knows, but many such there were too, in the Course of those Empires, during those Ages; but the Records of them lost, with their other Sciences, further, than some Memory and short Accounts given us by the few *Greek* Authors that we have now remaining. *Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona.*

The antient *Assyrian* Learning which had run so long a Course of Time, and grown to so great a Height in the Colleges or Societies of their *Magi*, or *Chaldeans*,

ans, began to decay upon the Conquest of that Empire, first by the *Medes*, and afterwards by *Cyrus* and his *Persians*, who were then a sort of barbarous Nation, that knew nothing, beyond what they had learned and practised, from the Civil or Military Institutions of *Cyrus*, a wise Lawgiver as well as great Captain, and thereby, the Founder of that mighty Kingdom. But the last and fatal Blow, given to that ancient Learning, was in the time of *Darius*, Father of *Xerxes*, who with the rest of the *Persians*, spighted at the *Magi*, upon the Usurpation of the Crown by one of their number, (that counterfeited a younger Son of *Cyrus* after the Death of *Cambyses*,) when he came to be settled in that Throne, endeavour'd to abolish,
not

not only their Learning and Credit, but their Language too, by changing the old *Assyrian* Characters, and introducing those of *Persia*, which grew to be the common Use of that whole Empire.

Under the first and second Race of these *Persian* Kings, the Genius of that Nation being wholly military, their Conquests were indeed vastly extended, beyond the Bounds of the *Assyrian* Empire, by subduing *Lydia*, the lesser *Asia*, and the whole Kingdom of *Ægypt*, which had ever been a Rival of the *Assyrian* Greatness: But during the Successions of this Monarchy, all Learning was so lost among them, that no certain Records were preserved, either of Actions or of Times, under the Races of

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the *Assyrian* Kings: So as the first Period of Story which remains in any prophane Authors, seems to begin with *Cyrus*: And all before his Birth, is so obscure, so variously reported, or so mingled with Fable and Truth, that no sound or certain Judgment can be fixed upon them, whatever Pains have been employ'd to reconcile them. For all other Sciences, they were in a manner extinguish'd during the Course of this Empire, excepting only a Smatter of Judicial Astrology, by which, under the Name of *Chaldeans*, some of that Race long amuzed ignorant and credulous People.

But upon the Sun-set of this ancient *Assyrian* Learning, it began to dawn in *Greece*, with the Growth and flourishing of the
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Athenian State, by whose Navigations and Traffick, several Noble Wits among them and the rest of the *Grecians*, entered into Commerce with the *Ægyptians* and *Phœnicians*; and from them or their Priests, drew the first Rudiments of those Sciences, which they brought into *Greece*, and by which, they grew so renowned in their own and after Ages. Such were *Solon*, *Pythagoras*, *Democritus*, *Plato*, and many others; whose Lives and Voyages into those Eastern Regions, we are less acquainted with, by the Loss of so many Books, and the Injuries of devouring Time.

The Learning of the *Ægyptians*, whenever it began, continued in great Height and Admiration of their Neighbours, till the Reign of *Nectanebus*;

when after a Revolt of the *Ægyptians* from the *Persian* Empire, which lasted and prospered in two or three Kings Reigns ; one of the *Artaxerxes* subdu'd *Ægypt*, and this last of the *Ægyptian* Kings ; Reduced the whole Kingdom to the *Persian* Obedience ; but enraged at their Rebellion and obstinate Resistance, executed his Conquest with such Rage, that besides infinite Slaughters, he razed many of their Cities, and the Walls of them all ; ruined their Temples, destroyed or dispersed their Priests, and the Archives or Records of those famous Colleges, and whatever of them he thought fit to preserve, he carried away with him into *Persia*.

. This happened during the Reign of *Philip* of *Macedon*,
and

and gave a fatal Period to the antient *Ægyptian* Learning, and Sciences. After which Time, we know of no Voyages made by the *Greek* Philosophers into *Ægypt*, upon that Search ; but *Plato* was the last of Renown, that undertook that Voyage, who lived and was in *Ægypt*, not long before this cruel Revolution.

'Tis true, the *Grecian* Races of Kings, afterwards in *Ægypt*, called *Ptolomyes*, during the Quiet and Felicity of many Reigns, endeavoured all they could, the Restoration of Learning among them, by Countenance, and all sorts of Encouragement to their Priests that remained, and by the Collection of that vast Library at *Alexandria* : But the Learning and Science of the old *Ægyptian* Priests was never recovered ;

and that professed by the new, was turned to Superstition and Mystery, Initiations, and Expiations, the procuring or foretelling Events by mystical Sacrifices, or magical Operations, which lasted indeed to *Adrian's* time, but without Credit or Esteem, among the wiser Part of the World.

The same, or rather a greater Desolation, than that of *Ægypt* in the time of *Nectanebus*, was made of the *Sidonians*, and their whole City and Territory, by the same *Artaxerxes*, in his Passage from *Persia* to *Ægypt*, upon the Rebellion of that City. The like happened to *Tyre*, upon the cruel Conquest by *Alexander* the Great, of that famous City. (Though the antient *Tyre* that stood upon the Continent had been

been ruined long before.) And with the Ruin of these two, perished the *Phœnician* Learning, which had flourished there for so many Ages, and no Account left us of them, besides what remains in the very few antient *Greek* or *Latin* Books that are preserved among us. How few they are indeed, may be very justly bewailed, the Compass of them extending, but from the time of *Hippocrates*, to that of *Marcus Antoninus*, which was about four hundred Years ; and yet the number of those, written in that Period, and preserv'd to our Age, is more to be deplored. But I shall not enter into Search , of the Causes or Times of the loss of so many of the rest, as we find mentioned by *Diodorus*, *Origen*, *Athenæus*, or

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others,

others, whereof some were not long before *Constantine*. And it is recorded, that the young Emperor *Gordian* was so great a Lover of Learning, that in his short Reign he collected a Library of sixty two thousand Volumes ; but what became of them, or when so many Monuments of the antient Learning were lost, I cannot undertake to find out : Only 'tis certain, that besides infinite numbers of *Greek* Histories and Poets, those of all the several Sects of Philosophers are lost, besides what has been preserved of *Plato* and *Aristotle*.

I cannot but take notice, how hardly the modern Advocates part with their own Concessions to the Antients, in Poetry and Eloquence ; and upon what judicious

dicious Grounds they detract from them in the first, and contest with them in the other.

They allow indeed the Sweetness of the *Greek* Poetry to be inimitable, but attribute it wholly to the Language, and the Sounds and Syllables that compose it. They might as well say, the Excellence of Picture comes from the Beauty of the Colours; and of Statuary, from the Fineness of the Marble; whereas a common Hand with the finest Colours in the World, can paint nothing better than a Sign-Post: and the drawing of a Hand in black and white, may be of ten times more Art and Value, as well as Beauty, than a common Picture, though never so finely coloured. 'Tis the same thing in Poetry; the Language is but
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the colouring ; 'tis the Conception, the Invention, the Judgment, that give the Life and Spirit , as well as Beauty and Force, to a Poem. And I desire to know, whether any of the *Greek Poets*, that writ after the end of the *Ptolomy's* Race in *Ægypt*, are at all comparable to those that writ before ; yet we have but too many of them left us to make the Comparifon.

Upon the Subject of Eloquence, they will have it, that *Padre Paolo's* Council of *Trent*, and *Comines's* Memoires, are equal to *Herodotus* and *Livy* ; and so would *Strada* be too, if he were but impartial. This is very wonderful, if it be not a Jest ; for *Padre Paolo*, he must be allowed for the greatest Genius of his Age, and perhaps of all the
 Moderns,

Moderns, as appears in his othere Writings, as well as the Council of *Trent* ; which is indeed no History of any great Actions, but only an Account of a long and artificial Negotiation, between the Court and Prelates of *Rome*, and those of other Christian Princes : So that I do not see, how it can properly be stiled an History ; the Subject whereof are great Actions and Revolutions : And by all the antient Criticks upon History, the first Part of the Excellence of an Historian, is the Choice of a noble and great Subject, that may be worth his Pains.

For *Philip de Cominés*, none ever call'd it a History ; nor he himself, other than *Memoires* ; nor does either the Subject deserve it, or the Author ; who is valued

valued only for his great Truth of Relation, and Simplicity of Stile.

There are three, which I do not conceive well, how they can be brought into the number of Sciences; which are, Chymistry, Philology, and Divinity.

For that part of Chymistry, which is conversant in discovering and extracting the Virtue of Metals, or other Minerals, or of any Simples, that are employ'd with Success, for Health or Medicine, 'tis a Study that may be of much Use and Benefit to Mankind, and is certainly the most diverting Amusement to those that pursue it. But for the other Part, which is applied to the Transmutation of Metals, and the Search of the Philosopher's Stone, which has enchanted, not
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to say, turned so many Brains
 in the later Ages : “ Tho’ some
 “ Men cannot comprehend, how
 “ there should have been so
 “ much Smoak, for so many A-
 “ ges in the World about it,
 “ without some Fire. ’Tis easie,
 I think, to conceive, that there
 has been a great deal of Fire,
 without producing any thing
 but Smoke. If it be a Science,
 ’tis certainly one of the Liberal
 ones; for the Professors or Fol-
 lowers of it, have spent more
 Money upon it, than those of all
 other Sciences together; and
 more than they will ever reco-
 ver, without the Philosopher’s
 Stone. Whether they are now
 any nearer than they were when
 they began, I do not know; nor
 could ever find it determined a-
 mong wise and learned Men,
 whether

whether Alchymy were any thing more than a wild Vision or Imagination of some shatter'd Heads, or else, a Practice of Knaves upon Fools, as well as sometimes of Fools upon themselves. For, however *Borrichius*, or any others, may attribute the vast Expences of the Pyramids, and Treasures of *Solomon*, to the Philosopher's Stone; I am apt to believe, none ever yet had it, except it were *Midas*, and his Possession seems a little discredited by his Ass's Ears: And I wish the Pursuit of many others, may not fall under the same Prejudice. For my own part, I confess I have always look'd upon Alchymy in Natural Philosophy, to be like Enthusiasm in Divinity, and to have troubled the World much to the same Purpose.

Purpose. And I should as soon fall into the Study of the *Rosycrusian* Philosophy, and expect to meet a *Nymph* or a *Sylph*, for a Wife or a Mistress, as with the Elixir for my Health, or Philosophers Stone for my Fortune.

'Tis not so difficult to comprehend, how such a Folly should last so long in the World, and yet without any Ground in Nature, or in Reason; if a Man considers, how the Pagan Religion lasted for so many Ages, with such general Opinion and Devotion; which yet all now confess to have been nothing, but an Illusion or a Dream, with some Practice of cunning Priests, upon the credulous and ignorant People: which seems to have been the Case of this Modern

dern Science ; for antient it is none, nor any at all that I know of.

For Philology, I know not well what to make of it ; and less, how it came into the number of Sciences : If it be only Criticism upon antient Authors and Languages ; he must be a Conjuror that can make those Moderns with their Comments, and Glossaries, and Annotations, more learned, than the Authors themselves in their own Languages, as well as the Subjects they treat.

I must confess, that the Critics are a Race of Scholars, I am very little acquainted with ; having always esteemed them but like Brokers, who having no Stock of their own, set up and trade with that of other Men ; buying
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here, and felling there, and commonly abusing both sides, to make out a little paultry Gain, either of Money or of Credit, for themselves, and care not at whose Cost. Yet the first Design of these kind of Writers, after the Restoration of Learning in these western Parts, was to be commended, and of much Use and Entertainment to the Age. 'Tis to them we owe the Editions of all the antient Authors, the best Translations of many out of *Greek*, the restoring of the old Copies, maimed with Time or Negligence, the correcting of others mistaken in the transcribing, the explaining Places obscure, in an Age so ignorant of the Stile or Customs of the Antients: And in short, endeavouring to recover those

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old Jewels out of the Dust and Rubbish, wherein they had been so long lost or soiled ; to restore them to their native Lustre, and make them appear in their true Light.

This made up the Merit and Value of the Criticks for the first hundred Years, and deserved both Praise and Thanks of the Age, and the Rewards of Princes, as well as the Applause of common Scholars, which they generally received. But since they have turned their Vein, to debase the Credit and Value of the Antients, and raise their own above those, to whom they owe all the little they know ; and instead of true Wit, Sense, or Genius, to display their own proper Colours of Pride, Envy, or Detraction, in what they write:
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To trouble themselves and the World with vain Niceties and captious Cavils, about Words and Syllables, in the Judgment of Stile; about Hours and Days, in the Account of antient Actions or Times; about antiquated Names of Persons or Places, with many such worthy Trifles; and all this, to find some Occasion of censuring and defaming such Writers as are, or have been most esteemed in the World: Raking into flight Wounds where they find any, or scratching till they make some, where there were none before: There is, I think, no sort of Talent so dispisable, as that of such common Criticks, who can at best pretend, but to value themselves, by discovering the Defaults of other Men, rather than any Worth or Me-

rit of their own : A sort of Levellers, that will needs equal the best or richest of the Country, not by improving their own Estates, but reducing those of their Neighbours, and making them appear as mean and wretched as themselves. The truth is, there has been so much written of this kind of Stuff, that the World is surfeited with the same Things over and over ; or old common Notions, new drest, and perhaps embroider'd,

For Divinity , wherein they give the Moderns such a Preference above the Antients, they might as well have made them excell in the Knowledg of our Common Law, or of the *English* Tongue ; since our Religion was as little known to the antient Sages and Philosophers, as our
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Language or our Laws: And I cannot but wonder, that any Divine should so much debase Religion or true Divinity, as to introduce them thus preposterously into the number of human Sciences: Whereas they came first to the *Jews*, and afterwards to the first Christians, by immediate Revelation or Instruction from God Himself: Thus *Abraham* learn'd, that there was but one true God, and in pursuit of that Belief, contrary to the Opinion of the learned *Chaldeans*, among whom he lived, was content to forsake his own Country, and come into *Palestine*: So *Moses* was instructed to know God more particularly, and admitted both to see his Glory, and to learn his Name, *Jehovah*, and to institute from Heaven, the whole

Religion of the *Jews*: So the Prophets under the old Testament, were taught to know the Will of God, and thereby, to instruct the People in it, and enabled to prophesy, and do Miracles, for a Testimony of their being truly sent from Heaven. So our blessed Saviour came into the World, to shew the Will of his Father, to teach his Precepts and Commands; and so his Apostles and their Disciples were inspired by the Holy Ghost, for the same Ends. And all other Theology in the World, in how learned Nations and Ages soever it flourished, yet ended in gross Superstition and Idolatry; so that Human Learning seems to have very little to do with true Divinity, but on the contrary, to have turned the Gentiles
into

into false Notions of the Deity, and even to have misguided the *Jews* and the Christians, into the first Sects and Heresys, that we find among them.

We know of little Learning among the *Jews*, besides that of *Moses* and of *Solomon*, till after the Captivity, in which their Priests grew acquainted with the Language and Learning of the *Chaldæans*; but this was soon lost, in such a broken State as theirs was, after their Return to such a ruined City, and desolate Country, and so often persecuted, by the Credit of their Enemies at the *Persian* Court: The Learning, which afterward we find among the *Jews*, came in with the *Grecian* Empire, that introduced their Learning and Language with their Con-

quest into *Judæa*. Before this, there were no Division or Sects among the *Jews*, but of such as followed the true Prophets or the false, and worshipped God or *Baal*. With the *Grecian* Language and Learning, entered their Philosophy, and out of this arose the two great Sects of *Pharisees* and *Sadduces*: The *Pharisees* in all Opinions, which they could any way conform to their own Worship or Institutions, followed the Philosophy of *Plato*; the *Sadduces* of *Epicurus*. The first professed the strictest Rules of Virtue and Vice, the Hopes and Fears of Rewards and Punishments in another World; The Existence of Angels, and Spirits separate from Bodies: But the *Sadduces* believed little or nothing of any of these, further

ther than to cover themselves from the Hatred and Persecution of the other Sect, which was the most popular.

For that Rabbinical Learning, that is pretended by the *Jews*, to have begun so long before the Captivity, and to have continued by Tradition down to the time of the *Talmud* : I must confess, that notwithstanding the Credit has been given to it, and all the Legends introduced by it, in the last Age ; I cannot find any Traces of it, which seem at all clear, beyond the time of the last Dispersion of the *Jews* in the Reign of *Adrian*, or the first, in that of *Vespasian* ; and how little the *Jews* have gained by all this Learning of their *Rabbins*, how antient or modern soever, I leave to others to consider and deter-

determine, who have more Esteem for it than I.

For Christianity, it came into the World, and so continued in the first Age, without the least Pretence of Learning and Knowledge, with the greatest Simplicity of Thought and Language, as well as Life and Manners, holding forth nothing but Piety, Charity, and Humility, with the Belief of the *Messias* and of his Kingdom; which appears to be the main Scope of the Gospel, and of the Preaching of the Apostles; and to have been almost concealed from the Wise and the Learned, as well as the Mighty and the Noble, by both which Sorts, it was either derided or persecuted.

The first that made any Use of Learning, were the Primitive Fathers

thers of the Second Age, only to confute the Idolatrous Worship of the Heathens, and their Plurality of Gods ; endeavouring to evince the Being of One God, and Immortality of the Soul, out of some of their own antient Authors, both Poets and Philosophers, especially out of the Writers of the *Platonick* Sect, and the Verses of *Orpheus* and the *Sibyls*, which then passed for Genuin, though they have since by the Moderns been questioned, if not exploded : Thus *Minutius Felix*, *Origen*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Tertullian*, made use of the Learning of such as were then Antient to them, and thereby became Champions of the Christian Faith against the *Gentiles*, by force of their own Weapons.

After

After the third Century, and upon the Rise of the *Arrian* and other Heresies in the Christian Church; their Learning seems chiefly to have been imployed in the Defence of the several Opinions, professed by the Orthodox or the *Arrians*, the Western or the Eastern Churches, and so to have long continued, by the frequent Rise of so many Heresies in the Church.

And I doubt this kind of Learning has been but too great, and made too much Use of, upon all the Divisions of *Christendom*, since the Restoration of Learning in these Western Parts of the World: Yet this very Polemical Learning has been chiefly imploy'd, to prove their several Opinions, to be most agreeable to those of the antient Fathers,
and

and the Institutions of the Primitive Times, which must needs give the Preference to the Antients above the Moderns in Divinity, since we cannot pretend to know more of what they knew and practised, than Themselves: And I did as little believe, that any Divine in *England*, would compare Himself or his Learning with those Fathers, as that any of our Physicians would theirs with *Hippocrates*, or our Mathematicians with *Archimedes*.

One would think that the modern Advocates, after having confounded all the Antients, and all that esteem them, might have been contented; but one of them, I find, will not be satisfied to condemn the rest of the World, without applauding himself;

self ; and therefore falling into a Rapture upon the Contemplation of his own Wonderful Performance, he tells us ; *Hitherto in the main I please my self, that there cannot be much said against what I have asserted, &c.*

I wonder a Divine upon such an Occasion, should not at least have had as much Grace as a *French Lawyer in Montagne* ; who after a dull tedious Argument, that had wearied the Court and the Company , when he went from the Bar, was heard muttering to himself ; *Non nobis Domine, non nobis* : But this Writer, rather like the proud *Spaniard*, that would not have St. *Lawrence's* Patience upon the Grid-iron ascribed to the Grace of God, but only to the true *Spanish* Valour ; will not have his
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own Perfections and Excellencies owing to any thing else, but the true Force of his own Modern Learning ; and thereupon he falls into this sweet Extasy of Joy, wherein I shall leave him till he come to Himself.

The whole Cause between the Pretensions of antient and Modern Learning, will be best decided by the Comparifon of the *Persons* and the *Things* that have been produced under the Institutions and Discipline of the one, or the other.

I leave that of *Persons* to the Observation of the present or last Age, to which it seems, the Modern Pretences are confined ; and to the Accounts given us by the best *Roman* and *Greek* Historians, of what great Spirits both Prin-
ces

ces and Generals, as well as Lawgivers and Philosophers, have been formed under the Doctrine and Discipline of the antient Sciences ; and to the Characters of *Epaminondas*, *Agésilas*, *Alcibiades*, *Philip of Macedon*, the two *Scipios*, *Julius Cæsar*, *Trajan*, *Marcus Antoninus*, and several others ; and of the Noble and Transcendent Virtues and Heroick Qualities of these, and such other Antients most renowned in Story ; their Fortitude, their Justice, their Prudence, their Temperance, their Magnanimity, their Clemency, their Love to their Country, and the Sacrifice they made of their Lives, or at least, of their Ease and Quiet, to the Service thereof : Their eminent Virtues both Civil and Military, by which they gained
such

such famous Victories over their Enemies, such passionate Love from their own Countries, and such Admiration of all Men, both in their own and succeeding Ages.

For *Things* to be considered, they must be such as have been either of general Use, or Pleasure to Mankind. In those of Pleasure, as Poetry, Picture, Statuary, Eloquence, Architecture; the Point is yielded by the Moderns; and must of necessity be so by any Man that reads the Descriptions of those antient Fabricks mentioned before, all in a Breath; which were and will be the Wonders of the World. Among other Testimonies of their Wit and Science, in their Inventions of Pleasure; one might observe, that their very

T Luxury

Luxury was learned , in the Disposition, Order, and Variety of their Feasts; so contrived, as to entertain not only all the Senses, but the Imagination and Intellectuals too ; by Perfumes, Musick, Mimick, both Dumb and Vocal ; short Scenes and Representations ; Buffoonries, or Comical Disputes to divert the Company, and deceive as well as divide the Time ; besides more Serious and Philosophical Discourses, Arguments, and Recitations.

But above all others , they were most wonderful in their *Shews* or *Spectacula*, exhibited so often at *Rome*, to entertain the People in general, first by their *Aedils* and Consuls, and afterwards by their Emperors : Not to speak of the Magnificence and
Order

Order of their Theatres and Triumphs: 'Tis strange, how such Thoughts could so much as enter into any Man's Head, to derive, of a sudden, so much Water into the midst of a Town or a Field, as might represent a Sea upon dry Ground, bring Ships or Gallies rowing into it, and order an absolute Sea-Battle to be fought upon the Land. At another time, to plant a vast Wood of great and green Trees, in a plain Field, all enclosed and replenished with all sorts of wild Beasts, for the People to hunt, to kill, and to eat, next Day at their Feasts; and the Day after, all this to disappear, as if it had only been an Apparition, or raised by Inchantment. Such sort of Atchievements among the Antients, and such Effects of their

admirable Science and Genius in the Invention and Disposition of them, seem as difficult for us in these Ages to Comprehend, as for them to execute.

Now for Things of general Use to Mankind ; they are the Productions of Agriculture, Physick, and Legislature, or Political Orders and Institutions.

For the first ; We owe them all to the Antients, who were the Inventers of all Arts necessary to Life and Sustainence, as Plowing, Sowing, Planting, and Conser-ving the Fruits of the Earth to a longer Season. All sorts of Grain, Wine, Oil, Honey, Cheese, are the most antient Inventions, and not at all improved by the Moderns.

For Physick, I leave it to be compared in the Books and Practice

of *Hippocrates*, *Galen*, and the antient *Arabians*, who followed their Rules and Methods, with those of *Paracelsus* and his Chymical Followers.

For Political Institutions, that tend to the Preservation of Mankind, by Civil Governments; 'Tis enough to mention those of *Cyrus*, *Theseus*, *Licurgus*, *Solon*, *Zaleucus*, *Charondas*, *Romulus*, *Numa Pompilius*, besides the more antient Institutions of the *Assyrian* and *Ægyptian* Governments and Laws, wherein may be observed, such a Reach of Thought, such Depth of Wisdom, and such Force of Genius, as the Presumption, and Flattery it self of our Age, will hardly pretend to parallel, by any of our modern Civil Institutions.

I know not why, a very good Reason for the great Advantage of Antient above Modern Learning, may not be justly drawn from the Force and Influence of Climates, where they have grown; And why the Regions of *Assyria*, *Phœnicia*, *Ægypt*, the Lesser *Asia*, *Greece*, *Rome*, and especially *China*, may not be allowed to produce naturally greater Force of Wit and Genius, of Invention and Penetration, than *England*, *Holland*, or the Northern Parts of *France* and *Germany*, to which all our Modern Learning seems to have been confined: Nor do I see, why the mighty Progress of Sciences in those Countries, may not in a great Measure be ascribed unto the long Peace and flourishing Con-

Condition of those antient Empires, wherein the *Magi* and Priests were so much honoured of old ; And also to the Freedom of Thought and Enquiry, in the *Grecian* and *Italian* Republicks, wherein the antient Philosophers were so much esteemed : Nor is it strange, that all Learning should have been extinguish'd in those noble Regions, by the Conquests of barbarous Nations, and those violent Governments which have succeeded them, nor that the Progress of it should be maimed by the perpetual Wars and Distractions, that have infested *Europe*, ever since the Fall of the *Roman* Empire, made way for so many several *Gothick* Kingdoms or Governments in this part of the World, where Learn-

ing pretends to be so much advanced.

The greatest Modern Inventions seem to be those of the *Load-Stone* and *Gun-powder* ; By the first whereof , Navigation must be allowed to have been much improved and extended ; and by the last , the Art Military, both at Sea and Land , to have been wholly changed ; yet 'tis agreed , I think , that the *Chineses* have had the Knowledge and Use of Gun-powder , many Ages before it came into *Europe* : And besides , both these have not served for any common or necessary Use to Mankind ; one having been employed for their Destruction , not their Preservation ; and the other , only to feed their Avarice , or increase their Lux-

Luxury : Nor can we say, that they are the Inventions of this Age, wherein Learning and Knowledge are pretended to be so wonderfully encreased and advanced.

What has been produced for the Use, Benefit, or Pleasure of Mankind, by all the airy Speculations of those, who have passed for the great Advancers of Knowledge and Learning these last fifty Years, (which is the Date of our Modern Pretenders) I confess I am yet to seek, and should be very glad to find. I have indeed heard of wondrous Pretensions and Visions of Men, possess'd with Notions of the strange Advancement of Learning and Sciences, on foot in this Age, and the Progress they are like to make in the next:
As

As, The Universal Medicine, which will certainly cure all that have it : The Philosopher's Stone, which will be found out by Men that care not for Riches : The Transfusion of young Blood into old Men's Veins, which will make them as gamesom as the Lambs, from which, 'tis to be derived : An Universal Language, which may serve all Mens Turn, when they have forgot their own : The Knowledge of one anothers Thoughts, without the grievous Trouble of Speaking : The Art of Flying, till a Man happens to fall down and break his Neck : Double-bottom'd Ships, whereof none can ever be cast away, besides the first that was made : The admirable Virtues of that noble and necessary Juice called Spittle,

Spittle, which will come to be sold, and very cheap in the Apothecarys Shops : Discoveries of new Worlds in the Planets, and Voyages between this and that in the Moon, to be made as frequently as between *York* and *London* : Which, such poor Mortals as I am, think as wild as those of *Ariosto*, but without half so much Wit, or so much Instruction ; for there, these modern Sages may know, where they may hope in Time to find their lost Senses, preserved in Vials, with those of *Orlando*.

One great Difference must be confessed between the Antient and Modern Learning ; Theirs led them to a Sense and Acknowledgment of their own Ignorance, the Imbecility of Human

man

man Understanding, the Incomprehension even of Things about us, as well as those above us ; so as the most sublime Wits among the Antients ended in their 'Ακαταληψία ; Ours leads us to Presumption, and vain Ostentation of the little we have learned, and makes us think, we do or shall know, not only all Natural, but even what we call Supernatural Things ; all in the Heavens, as well as upon Earth ; more than all mortal Men have known before our Age ; and shall know in time as much as Angels.

Socrates was by the *Delphick* Oracle pronounced the wisest of all Men, because He professed that He knew nothing : What would the Oracle have said

said of a Man that pretends to know every thing? *Pliny* the elder, and most learned of all the *Romans*, whose Writings are left, concludes the Uncertainty and Weakness of Human Knowledge, with, *Constat igitur inter tanta incerta, nihil esse certi; præterquam hominem, nec miserius quicquam nec superbius.* But sure, our Modern Learned, and especially the Divines of that Sect, among whom it seems, this Disease is spread, and who will have the World “ to be “ ever improving, and that no- “ thing is forgotten that ever “ was known among Mankind, must themselves have forgotten, that Humility and Charity are the Virtues which run through the Scope of the Gospel; and one would think, they
never

never had read, or at least, never minded the first Chapter of *Ecclesiastes*, which is allowed to have been written, not only by the Wisest of Men, but even by Divine Inspiration; where *Solomon* tells us ;

The Thing that has been, is that which shall be, and there is no new Thing under the Sun ; Is there any Thing whereof it may be said, See, this is new ? It has been already of old Time which was before us : There is no Remembrance of former Things, neither shall there be any Remembrance of Things that are to come, with those that shall come after.

These, with many other Passages in that admirable Book, were enough, one would think, to

to humble and mortify the Presumption of our Modern *Scio-lists*, if their Pride were not as great as their Ignorance : Or if they knew the rest of the World any better than they know themselves.

HEADS,

HEADS,

Designed for an

ESSAY

UPON THE

Different CONDITIONS

OF

Life and Fortune.

THE DAYS

Assigned for an

ASSAY

upon the

ORIGIN CONDITION

of

Life and Love

HEADS,

Designed for an

ESSAY

UPON THE

Different CONDITIONS

OF

Life and Fortune.

WHETHER a good
Condition, with
Fear of being ill,
or an ill, with
Hope of being well, pleases or
displeases most.

U 2

The

The Good of Wisdom, as it most conduces to Happiness.

The Effect of Happiness best discovered, by good Humour, and Satisfaction within.

Difference between being Satisfied, and Content.

The Value of Virtue double, as of Coin ; one of Stamp, which consists in the Esteem of it ; the other intrinsick, as most contributing to the Good of Private Life, and Publick Society.

Against Rochefoucault's Reflections upon Virtue ; *qu'elle n'ira pas loin, si elle n'est soutenüe par la vanité.*

A Man's Wisdom, his best Friend ; Folly, his worst Enemy.

No Happiness with great Pain ; and so all are exposed to small and common Accidents.

The

The Sting of a Wasp, a Fit of the Stone, the biting of a mad Dog, destroy for the time; the two first, Happiness; and the other, Wisdom it self.

The only way for a rich Man to be healthy, is by Exercise, and Abstinence, to live as if he were poor; which are esteemed the worst Parts of Poverty.

Leisure and Solitude, the best Effects of Riches, because Mother of Thought. Both avoided by most rich Men, who seek Company and Business, which are Signs of being weary of themselves.

Business, when loved, but as other Diversions, of which, this is in most Credit. Nothing so prejudicial to the Publick.

How few Busy to good purpose, for themselves or Country.

Virgil's Morals in

Hic quibus invisi fratres, &c.
 And, *Hic manus ob patriam, &c.*

Solomon's, Enjoy the Good of
 Life, Fear God, and keep his
 Commandments.

Horace in his, *Non es avarus,*
 to, *Quid te exempta juvat spinis*
de pluribus una ?

To mortify Mankind in their
 Designs of any transcendent Hap-
 piness, *Solomon's Ecclesiastes*, and
Marcus Antoninus's Meditations,
 with *Almanzor* ; the greatest
 Princes of their times, and great-
 est Men at all times.

The old Man near the *Hague*,
 that served my House from his
 Dairy, grew so rich that he gave
 it

it over; bought a House and furnish'd it, at the *Hague*, resolving to live at ease the rest of his Life; grew so weary of being idle, he sold it, and returned again to his Dairy.

If without other Fears, yet that of Death, enough to spoil the greatest Enjoyments.

Never to be foreseen— *Quod quisq; vitet nusquam homini satis cautum est in horas.*

A thinking Man can never live well, unless content to die.

'Tis difficult to love Life, and yet be willing to part with it.

The Golden Sentences at *Delphos*; Know thy self. Nothing too much. Fly Contention and Debt.

— *Quid te tibi reddat amicum.*

El mucho se guasta, y el poco basta.

Many Friends may do one little Good ; one Enemy, much hurt.

In no Man's Power to avoid Enemies ; they injure by Chance, in a Crowd sometimes, and without Design ; then hate always, whom they have once injured.

To rich Men, the greatest Pleasures of Sense, either grow dull for want of difficulty, or hurt by Excess.

The greatest Advantages Men have by Riches, are, to Give, to Build, to Plant, and make pleasant Scenes, of which, Pictures and Statues make the pleasantest Part.

The

The greatest Prince, possess'd with Superstition and Fears of Death, more unhappy, than any private Man of common Fortune, and well constituted Mind.

A Prince above all Desires of More, or Fears of Change, falls to enjoy the Pleasures of Leisure and good Scenes : For in those of Sense, he can have but his share, in which, Nature has stinted all Men.

To what we are capable of, a common Fortune will reach ; the rest is but Ostentation and Vanity, which are below a wise and thinking Man.

Who

*Who for each fickle Fear, from
Virtue shrinks,
Sir Phil. Shall in this World, enjoy
Sidney. no worthy Thing :*

*No mortal Man the Cup of Sure-
ty drinks ;
But let us pick our Good from out
much bad ;
That so our little World may know
its King.*

*A little Moor that rode
Postilion. Quiry's Philosophy ; that
when he could not get off
his Boots at Night ; said,
he knew as good a way ;
to go to sleep with them on.*

*Whoever can die easily, may
live easily.*

*The Pursuit of Wealth, by
endless Care and Pains, is ground-
ed but upon the Desire of be-
ing so much further from Want.
That*

That of Power, Place, and Honour, but upon the Prospect of being so much safer, from the Respect it gives ; or the having others in our Power, instead of our being in theirs.

To take every thing by the right Hand, rather than the left, or the best End.

Life have I worn out, thrice Spencer.
thirty Years,

*Some in much Joy, many in Fears.
Yet never complain'd of Cold or Heat;
Of Winter Storms or Summer Sweat;
But gently took all that ungently
came——*

The last Pope's way of getting the Keys ; *Nil petere, nil recusare, de nemine conqueri.*

How far the Temper of Mind and Body, may go towards Relief

lief of the worst Conditions of Fortune. How little, the best Accidents, or Conditions of Fortune, towards relieving of Distempers of Body or Mind.

The true end of Riches, (next to doing Good) Ease and Pleasure ; the common Effect, to encrease Care and Trouble.

A Man's Happiness, all in his own Opinion of himself and other Things.

A Fool happier in thinking well of himself, than a wise Man, in others thinking well of him.

Any Man unhappier , in reproaching himself , if guilty ; than in others reproaching him, if innocent.

If a reasonable Man satisfie himself, it will satisfie all others, that are worth the Care of it.

Truth

Truth will be uppermost, one time or other, like Cork, tho' kept down in the Water.

To take care of the first ill Action ; which engages one in a Course of them, unless owned and repented. It draws on Disguise ; that, Lying, and unjust Quarrels.

A shattered Reputation, never again entire : Honour in a Man to be esteemed like that of a Woman ; once gone, never recovered.

All great and good Things in the World, brought to pass by Care and Order.

The End of all Wisdom, Happiness, : In private, of ones own Life ; in Publick Affairs, of the Government.

The difference of Both between one Man and another ;
only

only whether a Man governs his Passions, or his Passions Him.

We ought to abstain from those Pleasures, which upon Thought, we conclude, are likely to end in more Trouble or Pain, than they begin in Joy or Pleasure.

Youth naturally most inclined to the better Passions; Love, Desire, Ambition, Joy. Age to the worst; Avarice, Grief, Revenge, Jealousy, Envy, Suspicion.

As nothing in this World is unmix'd, so, Men should temper these Passions one with another; according to what by Age or Constitution, they are most subject.

Pride and Sufficiency, in Opinion of ones self, and Scorn, in that of others; the great Bane of Knowledge and Life.

One

One Man's Reason better than anothers, as it is more convincing ; else, every Man's Pretence to right Reason, alike.

'Tis hard going round the Pole, to know what the greatest number of Men agree in.

The wisest Men, easiest to hear Advice, least apt to give it.

Men have different Ends, according to different Tempers, are wise, as they chuse Ends that will satisfy, and the means to attain them.

Nothing so uncertain as general Reputation ; a Man injures me upon Humour, Passion, or Interest, or standing in his way ; hates me because he has injured me ; and speaks ill of me because he hates me.

Besides, no Humour so general, to find fault with others,

thers, as the Way to value themselves.

A good Man ought to be content, if he have nothing to reproach himself.

A Restlessness in Men's Minds to be something they are not, and have something they have not; the Root of all Immorality.

Coolness of Temper and Blood, and consequently of Desires, the great Principle of all Virtue.

This equally necessary, in moderating good Fortune, and bearing ill.

None turned more to Philosophy than *Solomon* and *Antoninus*, in the most prosperous Fortunes.

The Violences of *Tiberius* made more Stoicks at *Rome*, than all their Schools.

*Padre Paolo at seventy Years :
When the Spirits that furnish
Hopes, fail, 'tis time to live no
longer.*

The Temper of great Men, should have force of vital Spirits, great Heat, and yet Equality, which are hardly found together.

A Humour, apt to put great Weight upon small Matters, and consequently , to make much Trouble out of little ; is the greatest Ingredient to Unhappiness of Life. The contrary, the greatest to Happiness.

The best Philosophy, that which is natural to Men, disposed to succeed in it, by their natural Tempers, though improved by Education, Learning, and Thought.

Sharpness cuts slight Things best ; Solid, nothing cuts thro' but Weight and Strength ; the same, in the Use of Intellectuals.

The two greatest Mistakes among Mankind, are, to measure Truth by every Man's single Reason : And not only to wish every body like ones self, but to believe them so too, and that they are only disguised in what they differ from us. Both, the Effect of natural Self-love.

Men come to despise one another, by reckoning they have all the same Ends, with him that judges, only proceed foolishly towards them ; when indeed their Ends are different.

One Man will not for any Respect of Fortune, lose his Liberty so much, as to be obliged to

to step over a Kennel every Morning; And yet, to please a Mistress, save a beloved Child, serve his Country or Friend, will sacrifice all the Ease of his Life, nay his Blood and Life too, upon occasion.

Another will do the same for Riches.

One will suffer all Injuries without Resentment, in pursuit of Avarice or Ambition; another will sacrifice all for Revenge.

Pompey fled among the *Ægyptian* Slaves to save his Life, after the Battle of *Pharsalia*, and loss of Empire, and Liberty of *Rome*. *Cæsar* chose to die once, rather than live in fear of dying. *Cato*, to die rather, than outlive the Liberties of his Country, or submit to a Conqueror.

Atticus preferred the Quiet of Life, before all Riches and Power ; and never entered into Publick Cares.

Yet these all Contemporaries, and the four greatest of *Rome*.

Mr. *H.* to me. If a King were so great to have nothing to desire nor fear, he would live just as You do.

Does any thing look more desireable, than to be able to go just ones own Pace and Way ; which belongs in the greatest Degree to a private Life. *Ut mihi vivam quod superest ævi.*

A Man in Publick Affairs, is like one at Sea ; never in his own Disposol, but in that of Winds and Tides.

To be bound for a Port one desires extreamly, and sail to it with a fair Gale, is very pleasant :
But

But to live always at Sea, and upon all Adventures, is only for those who cannot live at Land.

*Non agimus tumidis velis, Aquilone secundo;
Non tamen adversis ætatem ducimus Austris.*

When after much working, ones Head is very well settled ; the best is, not to set it a working again. The more and longer it has work'd at first, perhaps the finer and stronger : But every new working does but trouble and weaken it.

The greatest Pleasure of Life, is Love : The greatest Treasure, is Contentment : The greatest Possession, is Health : The greatest Ease, is Sleep : And the greatest Medicine, is a true Friend.

Happiness of Life depends much upon natural Temper, which turns ones Thoughts, either upon Good, in Possession and Hopes; or Evil, in present Sense or Fears.

This makes the difference between Melancholy and Sanguin, between Old and Young, greater, than between those placed in any different Degree of Fortune.

The Use of Plenty, is the Abuse of Riches : For unless a rich Man will in some things live like a poor one, he is not the better for his Riches : His Life will be the worse, and the shorter.

Every Man will be happy ; and none by the Constitution of Nature, is capable of being so. We are capable of few Pleasures ;

tures ; and Reason and Reflection cut off many of those.

If the Sun or Moon eclipses ; if a Comet appear ; a Man is in Pain : If a great Storm of Thunder or Lightning, or violent Seasons, or Tempests : If any thing touch his Life or his Fortune ; any Passion at Heart ; or if he fears for his Soul ; he is an unhappy Man.

Pride, the Ground of most Passions, and most Frenzyes.

The Design of distinguishing ones self in some kind, general to all Men ; and from which, most Troubles arise.

Man is a thinking Thing, whether he will or no : All he can do, is to turn his Thoughts the best way.

Since in some Degree, we must always either hope or fear, we

should turn our Thoughts upon some Design or Course of Life, that will entertain them with some kind of Hopes. *Lentè in voto.* If that cannot be, the next is, to seek Diversion from Thought, by Business, Sports, or Labour.

After all, Life is but a Trifle, that should be plaid with till we lose it ; and then it is not worth regretting.

If Men are so happy from Nature or Fortune, as to have nothing else to complain of, they trouble themselves with the Thoughts, that they must, or may Die.

They take no Pleasure in the Feast, because it must end.

There is but one general undisputed Truth yet agreed on ; That whatever lives must Die.

Dying

Dying is a Piece of our Nature, as well as living ; therefore if not content with one, we cannot be perfectly so with the other.

Since Death is unavoidable, nothing so impertinent as to trouble our selves about it : But Pain is not of so absolute necessity, therefore 'tis pardonable, to endeavour the avoiding it.

The *Stoicks* Opinion of Pain not being an Evil, a Mockery unnatural, and a Strain of the highest Disguise and Affectation.

Whether Conditions of Life and Fortune are not in all much alike ; at least so, in one great part of our Lives : For Sleep levels the Poor and the Rich, the Honoured and disgraced

graced, the Prince and the Peasant.

Non domus aut fundi, non æris, &c.

These may entertain or heighten good Humour where it is ; not raise it where it is not : Otherwise, 'tis like Musick in Mourning.

The Plant may be improved by Seasons and Pains, but the Root must be in the Ground.

The Intemperate give themselves no leave to feel Hunger, Thirst, want of Sleep, or any other strong and natural Desires, without which, the Pleasures of Eating, Drinking, Sleeping, and the rest are all but weak and faint.

Restlessness of Mind is the great Cause of Intemperance, seeking Pleasures when Nature does

does not ask, nor Appetite prepare them.

No Possessions good, but by the good Use we make of them; without which, Wealth, Power, Friends, Servants, do but help to make our Lives more unhappy.

H E A D S,

HEADS,

Designed for an

ESSAY

ON

Conversation.

Of Conversation.

MEN naturally or generally seek it with others, and avoid it with themselves.

Both are necessary, one gives the Stock, the other improves it: One without t'other, unre-fined.

Ability is drawn out into Use, by Occasions and Accidents.

*Paulum sepultæ distat inertiae
Celata Virtus.*

Sometimes in one Age, Great Men are without Great Occasions; in another, Great Occasions with-

without Great Men ; and in both, one lost, for want of the other.

No Man willingly lives without some Conversation : Delicacy and Distinction, makes Men called Solitary.

Those that do upon Vows or Choice, in danger of some degrees of Frenzy ; the Mind like the Stomach, when empty, preying upon it self.

Scipio, of all Active and Great Men, the most Contemplative, yet open to *Lælius* and other private Friends.

Women and Children, some sort of Fools, and Madmen, the greatest Talkers.

Men talk without thinking, and think without talking.

Order, the Effect of Thought, and Cause of all good Productions.

Silence

Silence in Company, (if not Dulness or Modesty) is Observation or Discretion.

To play or wrestle well, should be used with those that do it better than you.

A Man among Children, long a Child : A Child among Men, soon a Man.

Nothing keeps a Man from being rich, like thinking he has enough : Nothing from Knowledge and Wisdom, like thinking he has both.

Nothing so unreasonable or insufferable in common Conversation, as Sufficiency.

Measuring all Reason by our own, the commonest and greatest Weakness ; is an Encroachment upon the common Right of Mankind.

Neither general Rules, nor general Practice, to be found further than Notion.

Tast in Conversation, from Love or Friendship, Esteem or Interest, Pleasantness or Amusement : The two first engage the first Part of our Lives ; the two second, the middle ; and the last the latter end.

Something like Home that is not Home, like Alone that is not Alone, to be wished, and only found in a Friend, or in his House.

Men that do not think of the present, will be thinking of the past or future ; therefore Business or Conversation is necessary to fix their Thoughts on the present.

In the rest, seldom Satisfaction, often Discontent and Trouble, unless to very sanguin Humours.

The

The same in general Speculations: witness *Solomon* and *Antoninus*; for whose Thoughts are not lost in the Immenfity of Matter, the Infinity of Forms, the Variety of Productions, and continual Vicissitude, or Change of one to the other.

In Conversation, Humour is more than Wit, Easiness more than Knowledge; few desire to learn, or think they need it, all desire to be pleased, or if not, to be easy.

A Fool may say many wise things, a wise Man no foolish ones: Good Sense runs throughout.

Mr. Grantam's Fool's Reply to a great Man, that asked whose Fool he was? I am *Mr. Grantam's* Fool: Pray whose Fool are You?

Sudden Replies esteemed the best and pleasantest Veins of

Wit, not always so, of good Sense.

Of all Passions, none so soon and so often turns the Brain, as Pride.

A little Vein of Folly or Whim, pleasant in Conversation; because it gives a Liberty of saying things, that discreet Men, tho' they will not say, are willing to hear.

The first Ingredient in Conversation is Truth, the next good Sense, the third good Humour, and the fourth Wit.

This last was formerly left to Fools and Buffoons, kept in all great Families.

Henry the Fourth of France, and K. James the first of England, first gave repute to that sort of Wit; encreased by K. Charles the second.

In

In K. *Charles* the first's time, all Wit, Love, and Honour, heightened by the Wits of that time into Romance.

Lord *Goreing* took the Contre-pied, and turned all into Ridicule.

He was followed by the Duke of *Buckingham*, and that Vein favoured by King *Charles* the Second, brought it in Vogue.

Truth is allowed the most esteemable Quality : The Lye is the greatest Reproach.

Therefore allowed formerly a just Occasion of Combat by Law, and since that time by Honour, in private Duels.

Good Breeding a necessary Quality in Conversation, to accomplish all the rest, as Grace in Motion and Dancing.

It is harder in that, to dance a Corrant well than a Jig : so in

Conversation, Even, Easy, and Agreeable, more than Points of Wit ; which unless very naturally they fall in of themselves, and not too often, are disliked in good Company : Because they pretend to more than the rest, and turn Conversation from good Sense to Wit, from Pleasant to Ridicule, which are the meaner Parts.

To make others Wit appear more than ones own, a good Rule in Conversation : A necessary one, to let others take Notice of your Wit, and never do it your self.

Flattery like Poyson, requires of all others the finest Infusion.

Of all Things the most nauseous, the most shocking, and hardest to bear.

K. James the first used to say, Nay, by my Soul, that's too hard.

Pride

Pride and Roughness may turn ones Humour, but Flattery turns ones Stomach.

Both Extrems to be avoided: If we must lean one way, better to Bluntness and Coldness, which is most Natural, than to Flattery, which is Artificial.

This is learn'd in the Slavery of Courts, or ill Fortune; the other in the Freedom of the Country, and a Fortune one is content with.

Nothing so nauseous as undistinguish'd Civility; 'tis like a Whore, or an Hostess, who looks kindly upon every Body that comes in.

It is fit only for such Persons of Quality as have no other way to draw Company, and draws only such as are not welcome any where else.

Court Conversation, without Love or Business, of all the other, the most tasteless.

A Court, properly a Fair, the end of it Trade and Gain : For none would come to be jostled in a Crowd, that is easie at home, nor go to service, that thinks he has enough to live well of himself.

Those that come to either for Entertainment, are the Dupes of the Traders, or at least, the Raillery.

All the Skill of a Court is to follow the Princes present Humour, talk the present Language, serve the present Turn, and make use of the present Interest of ones Friends.

Bluntness and Plainness in a Court, the most refined Breeding.

Like something in a Dress that looks neglected, and yet is very exact.

When

When I consider, how many noble and esteemable Men, how many lovely and agreeable Women, I have outlived among my Acquaintance and Friends, methinks it looks impertinent to be still alive.

Changes in Veins of Wit, like those of Habits, or other Modes.

Upon K. *Charles* the Second's Return, none more out of Fashion among the New Courtiers, than the old Earl of *Normich*, that was esteemed the greatest Wit in his Father's time, among the old.

Our Thoughts are express'd by Speech, our Passions and Motions as well without it.

Telling our Grievs lessens them, and doubles our Joys.

To hate Company unnatural, or to be always silent in it.

Socia-

Sociable, a Quality ascribed to Mankind.

Yet Hatred, or Distast, brought *Timon* to live alone, and the Shipwrack'd Men in an Island of the *Indies*.

'Tis very different to live in little Company, or in none.

Proper for Age to retire, as for Youth to produce it self in the World.

One shews Merit, or the Hopes they may one Day have it : The other has none, they never can.

Proper for one to shew Excellencies in any kind ; for the other to hide their Defaults.

'Tis not to live, to be hid all ones Life ; but if one has been abroad all Day, one may be allowed to go home upon any great Change of Weather or Company. No.

Nothing so useful as well chosen Conversation, or so pernicious as ill.

There may be too much, as well as too little.

Solitude damps Thought and Wit ; too much Company dissipates and hinders it from fixing.

In Retreat a Man feels more how Life passes ; if he likes it, is the happier ; if he dislikes it, the more miserable, and ought to change for Company, Business, or Entertainments, which keep a Man from his own Thoughts and Reflections.

Study gives Strength to the Mind, Conversation, Grace : The first apt to give Stiffness, the other, Suppleness: One gives Substance and Form to the Statue, t'other polishes it.

The

The great Happiness is to have a Friend to observe and tell one of ones Faults, whom one has Reason to esteem, and is apt to believe.

The great Miscarriages of Life, come from the want of a good Pilot, or from a Sufficiency to follow ones own Course or Humour.

Sometimes out of Pride to contradict others, or shew one needs no Instruction.

Do nothing to lose common Reputation, which is the best Possession of Life, especially that of Honour and Truth.

Roughness or Authority in giving Counsel, Easiness to receive all, or Obstinacy to receive none, equally to be avoided.

Too much Delicacy in one, or the other, of ill Effect.

Mark

Mark what makes other Men esteemed, and imitate ; what disesteemed, and avoid it.

Many very learned and able, without being agreeable ; more the contrary.

Company to be avoided, that are good for nothing ; to be sought and frequented, that excel in some Quality or other.

Of all Excellencies that make Conversation, good Sense and good Nature the most necessary, Humour the pleasantest.

To submit blindly to none, to preserve the Liberty of ones own Reason, to dispute for Instruction, not Victory, and yield to Reason as soon as it appears to us, from whence soever it comes.

This is to be found in all Conditions and Degrees of Men, in
a

a Farmer or Miller sometimes, as well as a Lawyer or Divine, among the Learned and the Great; tho' their Reputation or Manner, often imposes on us.

The best Rules to form a young Man, to talk little, to hear much, to reflect alone upon what has past in Company, to distrust ones own Opinions, and value others that deserve it.

The Chief Ingredients into the Composition of those Qualities that gain Esteem and Praise, are good Nature, Truth, good Sense, and good Breeding.

Good Nature is seen in a Disposition to say and do, what one thinks will please or profit others.

Good Breeding in doing nothing, one thinks will either hurt or displease them.

Good

Good Nature and good Sense come from our Births or Tempers ; good Breeding and Truth, chiefly by Education and Converse with Men. Yet Truth seems much in ones Blood, and is gained too, by good Sense and Reflection ; that nothing is a greater Possession, nor of more Advantage to those that have it, as well as those that deal with it.

Offensive and undistinguish'd Raillery comes from ill Nature, and desire of Harm to others, tho' without Good to ones self.

Or Vanity and a Desire of valuing our selves, by showing others Faults and Follies, and the Comparison with our selves, as free from them.

This Vein in the World was originally Railing, but because that would not pass without Return

turn of Blows, Men of more Wit than Courage, brought in this Refinement, more dangerous to others, and less to themselves.

Charles Brandon's Motto at a Turnament, upon his Marriage with the Queen ; the Trappings of his Horse being half Cloth of Gold, and the other half Frize.

*Cloth of Gold do not despise,
Tho' thou art match'd with
Cloth of Frize:*

*Cloth of Frize be not too bold,
Tho' thou art match'd with Cloth
of Gold.*

VIRGIL'S

LAST

ECLOGUE.

ONE Labour more, O *Arethusa* yield
Before I leave the Shepherds and
the Field :

Some Verses to my *Gallus* e'er we part,
Such as may one day break *Lycoris* Heart
As She did his. Who can refuse a Song,
To one that lov'd so well, and dy'd so young!
So maist thou, thy belov'd *Alphéus* please,
When thou creep'st under the *Sicanian* Seas.

Z

Be-

Begin and sing *Gallus* unhappy Fires,
 Whilst yonder Goat, to yonder Branch aspires
 Out of his reach. We sing not to the deaf ;
 An Answer comes from every trembling Leaf.
 What Woods, what Forests had intic'd your
 Ye *Nayades*, why came ye not away (stay,
 When *Gallus* dy'd, by an unworthy flame,
Parnassus knew, and lov'd too well his Name,
 To stop your course; nor could your hasty flight
 Be staid by *Pindus*, which was his Delight.
 Him the fresh Lawrels, Him the lowly Heath,
 Bewail'd with dewy Tears ; his parting Breath,
 Made lofty *Mænelus* hang his piny Head ;
Lycæan Marbles wept, when he was dead.
 Under a lonely Tree, he lay and pin'd,
 His Flock about him, feeding on the Wind,
 As he on Love ; such kind and gentle Sheep,
 The fair *Adonis* would be proud to keep.

There

There came the Shepherds, there the weary

Hinds,

(Winds;

Thither *Menalcas*, parch'd with Frost and

All ask'd him whence, for whom, this fatal Love,

Apollo came, his Arts and Herbs to prove.

Why *Gallus*? Why so fond? He says; thy Flame,

Thy Care, *Lycoris*, is another's Game ;

For him she sighs and raves, him she pursues,

Through mid Days Heats, and through the

Morning Dews ;

Over the snowy Cliffs, and frozen Streams,

Through noisy Camps. Up *Gallus*, leave

thy Dreams.

She has left thee. Still lay the drooping Swain,

Hanging his mourning Head, *Phæbus* in vain

Offers his Herbs, employs his Counsel here ;

'Tis all refus'd, or answer'd with a Tear.

What shakes the Branches ! what makes all the
Trees,

Begin to bow their Heads, the Goats their Knees !

Oh ! 'tis *Sylvanus*, with his mossy Beard

And leafy Crown, attended by a Herd,

Of Wood-born Satyrs ; see ! he shakes his Spear,

A green young Oak, the tallest of the Year.

Pan the *Arcadian* God forsook the Plains,

Mov'd with the Story of his *Gallus* Pains.

We saw him come, with Oaten-pipe in hand,

Painted with Berries-juice ; we saw him stand,

And gaze upon his Shepherds bathing Eyes ;

And what, no end, no end of Grief he cries !

Love, little minds all thy consuming Care,

Or restless Thoughts, they are his daily Fare.

Nor cruel Love with Tears, nor Grass with

Show'rs,

(Flow'rs,

Nor Goats with tender Sprouts, nor Bees with

Are

Are ever satisfi'd. So said the God,
 And toucht the Shepherd with his hazle Rod :
 He, sorrow-flain, seem'd to revive, and said,
 But yet *Arcadians*, is my Grief allay'd, (Plains,
 To think, that in these Woods, and Hills, and
 When I am silent in the Grave, your Swains
 Shall sing my Loves, *Arcadian* Swains inspir'd
 By *Phæbus* ; Oh ! how gently shall these tir'd
 And fainting Limbs, repose in endless Sleep,
 Whilst your sweet Notes, my Love immortal
 keep !

Would it had pleas'd the Gods, I had been born
 Just one of you, and taught to wind a Horn,
 Or weild a Hook, or prune a branching Vine,
 And known no other Love, but *Phillis*, thine ;
 Or thine, *Amintas* ; What though both are
 brown,

So are the Nuts and Berries on the Down ;

Amongst the Vines, the Willows, and the
Springs,

Phillis makes Garlands, and *Aminas* sings.

No cruel Absence calls my Love away

Farther than bleating Sheep, can go astray,

Here, my *Lycoris*, here are shady Groves,

Here Fountains cool, and Meadows soft, our

Loves

And Lives, may here together, wear and end :

O the true Joys of such a Fate and Friend !

I now am hurried by severe Commands,

To Eastern Regions, and among the Bands

Of armed Troops ; there, by my Foes pursu'd,

Here, by my Friends ; but still by Love subdu'd.

Thou far from home, and me, art wandring o'er,

The *Alpine* Snows, the farthest Western Shore,

The frozen *Rhine*. When are we like to meet ?

Ah gently, gently, lest thy tender Feet,

be

Be cut with Ice. Cover thy lovely Arms ;
 The Northern Cold relents not at their
 Charms :

Away I'll go, into some shady Bow'rs,
 And sing the Songs, I made in happy Hours ;
 And charm my Woes. How can I better chuse,
 Than among wildest Woods, my self to lose,
 And carve our Loves upon the tender Trees,
 There they will thrive ? See, how my Love
 agrees

(together,
 With the young Plants : Look how they grow
 In spite of Absence, and in spite of Weather.
 Mean time, I'll climb that Rock, and ramble
 o'er

Yon woody Hill ; I'll chase the grizly Boar,
 I'll find *Diana's*, and her Nymphs Resort ;
 No Frosts, no Storms, shall slack my eager
 Sport.

Methinks I'm wandring all about the Rocks,
 And hollow sounding Woods : Look how my
 Locks,

Are torn with Boughs and Thorns ! My Shafts
 are gone,

My Legs are tir'd, and all my Sport is done,
 Alas ! this is no Cure for my Disease ;

Nor can our Toils that cruel God appease.

Now neither Nymphs, nor Songs, can please
 me more,

Nor hollow Woods, nor yet the chased Boar :

No Sport, no Labour can divert my Grief :

Without *Lycoris*, there is no Relief.

Though I should drink up *Heber's* Icy Streams,

Or *Scythian* SNOWS, yet still her fiery Beams,

Would scorch me up. Whatever we can prove,

Love conquers all, and we must yield to Love.

H O R A C E.

HORACE.

Lib. 4th, O D E VII.

THE Snows are melted all away, (gay,
The Fields grow flow'ry, green and
The Trees put out their tender Leaves,
And all the Streams that went astray,
The Brook again into her Bed receives.

See ! the whole Earth has made a Change,
The Nymphs and Graces naked range
About the Fields, who shrunk before
Into their Caves. The empty Grange,
Prepares its room, for a new Summer's Store.

Left

Lest thou shouldst hope immortal things,
 The changing Year Instruction brings,
 The fleeting Hour, that steals away
 The Beggars time, and Life of Kings,
 But ne'er returns them, as it does the Day.

The Cold grows soft with western Gales,
 The *Summer* over *Spring* prevails,
 But yields to *Autumn's* fruitful Rain,
 As this to *Winter*-Storms and Hails,
 Each Loss the hasting Moons repairs again.

But we, when once our Race is done,
 With *Tullus* and *Anchises* Son,
 (Though rich like one, like t'other good)
 To Dust and Shades, without a Sun
 Descend, and sink in deep Oblivions Flood.

Who

Who knows, if the kind Gods will give,
 Another day to men that live
 In hope of many distant Years,
 Or if one Night more, shall retrieve,
 The Joys thou lovest, by thy idle Fears?

The pleasant Hours thou spend'st in Health,
 The use thou mak'st of Youth and Wealth,
 As what thou giv'st among thy Friends
 Escapes thy Heirs, so those the stealth
 Of time and Death, where good and Evil ends.

For when that comes, nor Birth, nor Fame,
 Nor Piety, nor Honest Name,
 Can e'er restore thee. *Theseus* bold,
 Nor chaste *Hippolitus* could tame
 Devouring Fate, that spares nor young nor old.

H O R A C E.

HORACE.

Lib. 1st. ODE XIII.

WHEN thou commend'st the lovely
Eyes

Of *Telephus*, that for thee dies ;
His Arms of VVax, his Neck, or Hair,
Oh ! how my Heart begins to beat,
My Spleen is swell'd with Gall and Heat,
And all my Hopes are turn'd into Despair.

Then both my Mind and Colour change,
My jealous Thoughts about me range,

In twenty Shapes ; my Eyes begin,
 Like VVinter-springs, apace to fill ;
 The stealing Drops, as from a Still,
 Fall down, and tell, what Fires I feel within.

VVhen his Reproaches make thee cry,
 And thy fresh Cheeks with Paleness die,
 I burn, to think, you will be Friends ;
 VVhen his rough Hand thy Bosom strips,
 Or his fierce Kisses tear thy Lips,
 I die, to see how all such Quarrel ends.

Ah ! never hope, a Youth to hold,
 So haughty, and in Love so bold,
 VVhat can him tame, in Anger keep ?
 VVhom all his Fondness can't assuage,
 VVho even Kisses turns to Rage,
 VVhich *Venus* does in her own *Nectar* sleep.

Thrice

Thrice happy they, whose gentle Hearts,
Till Death it self their Union parts,
An undisturbed Kindness holds,
VVithout Complaints or jealous Fears,
VVithout Reproach or spited Tears,
VVhich damps the kindest Heats with fullen
Colds.

UPON

UPON THE
Approach of the SHORE
AT
HARWICH,

In January, 1668.

Begun under the MAST.

Welcome the fairest and the happiest
Earth,

Seat of my Hopes and Pleasures, as my Birth:
Mother of well-born Souls, and fearless Hearts,
In Arms renown'd, and flourishing in Arts.

The Island of good Nature, and good Cheer,
That elsewhere only pass, inhabit here.

Re-

Region of Valour and of Beauty too ;
 Which shews, the brave are only fit to woo.
 No Child thou hast, ever approach'd thy shore,
 That lov'd thee better, or esteem'd thee more,
 Beaten with Journeys, both of Land and Seas,
 Weary'd with Care, the busy Man's Disease ;
 Pinch'd with the Frost, and parched with the
 Wind ;

Giddy with rowling, and with fasting pin'd ;
 Spighted and vex'd, that Winds, and Tides,
 and Sands,

(mands,
 Should all conspire, to cross such great Com-
 As hast me home, with an Account, that brings
 The Doom of Kingdoms to the best of Kings.

Yet I respire at thy reviving sight,
 Welcome as Health, and chearful as the Light,
 How I forget my Anguish and my Toils,
 Charm'd at th' approach of thy delightful Soils,

How

How like a Mother, thou hold'st out thy Arms
 To save thy Children, from pursuing Harms ;
 And open'st thy kind Bosom, where they find,
 Safety from Waves, and shelter from the Wind :
 Thy Cliffs so stately, and so green thy Hills,
 This with Respect, with Hope the other fills
 All that approach thee, who believe they find
 A Spring for Winter, that they left behind.
 Thy sweet Inclosures, and thy scatter'd Farms,
 Shew thy secureness from thy Neighbours harms ;
 Their Sheep in houses, and their Men in towns,
 Sleep only safe, thine rove about the downs,
 And Hills, and Groves, and Plains, and know no
 fear
 Of Foes, or Wolves, or Cold, throughout the
 Their vast and frightful woods seem only made
 To cover cruel deeds, and give a shade

To savage Beasts, who on the weaker prey,
 Or human Savages more wild than they.
 Thy pleasant Thickets and thy shady Groves,
 Only relieve the Heats, and cover Loves,
 Sheltring no other Thefts or Cruelties,
 But those of killing or beguiling Eyes.
 Their famish'd Hinds by cruel Lords enslav'd,
 Ruin'd by Taxes, and by Soldiers brav'd,
 Know no more ease than just what sleep can give;
 Have no more Heart and Courage but to live :
 Thy brawny Clowns, and sturdy Seamen fed
 With manly Food, that their own fields have bred,
 Safe in their Laws, and easie in their Rent,
 Blest in their King, and in their State content ;
 When they are call'd away from Herd or Plough
 To Arms, will make all foreign Forces bow,
 And shew how much a lawful Monarch saves,
 When twenty Subjects beat an hundred Slaves.

For-

Fortunate Island! if thou didst but know, (owe!
 How much thou dost to Heav'n and Nature
 And if thy humour were as good, as great
 Thy Forces, and as blest, thy soil and seat; (run;
 But then with numbers, thou would'st be o'er-
 Strangers to breath thy Air, their own would
 shun ;

And of thy Children, none abroad would roam,
 But for the pleasure of returning home.

Come and embrace us in thy saving Armes,
 Command the waves to cease their rough alarms,
 And guard us to thy Port, that we may see,
 Thou art indeed the Empress of the Sea.

So may thy Ships about the Ocean course,
 And still increase in number and in force.
 So may no Storms ever infest thy Shores,
 But all the Winds that blow, increase thy Stores.

May never more contagious Air arise,
 To close so many of thy Children's Eyes;
 But all about thee Health and Plenty vye,
 Which shall seem kindest to thee, Earth or Sky.
 May no more Fires be seen among thy Towns,
 But charitable Beacons on thy Downs,
 Or else victorious Bonfires in thy Streets,
 Kindled by Winds, that blow from off thy Fleets.
 Maist thou feel no more fits of factious Rage,
 But all Distempers may thy *Charles* asswage,
 With such a well tun'd Concord of his State,
 As none but ill, and hated Men, may hate.
 And maist thou from him endless Monarchs see,
 Whom thou maist honour, who may honour
 thee.

May they be *wise* and *good*: Thy happy feat,
 And stores, will never fail to make them *Great*.

HORACE.

HORACE.

Lib. 3d. ODE XXIX.

I

M*Oecena's* Off-spring of *Tyrrhenian* Kings,
And worthy of the greatest Empires
(sway,
Unbend thy working Mind a while, and play
With softer Thoughts, and looser Strings,
Hard Iron ever wearing, will decay.

A Piece untouch'd of old and noble Wine,
 Attends thee here ; soft Essence for thy Hair,
 Of purple Violets made, or Lillies fair,
 The Roses hang their Heads and pine,
 And till you come, in vain perfume the Air.

Be not inveigled by the gloomy shades
 Of *Tyber*, nor cool *Aniens* chrystal streams,
 The Sun is yet but young, his gentle beams
 Revive, and scorch not up the blades.
 The Spring like *Virtue*, dwells between extreams.

Leave fullsom Plenty for a while, and come,
 From stately Palaces, that towre so high,
 And spread so far ; the dust and business fly,
 The smoak and noise of mighty *Rome*,
 And cares, that on embroider'd Carpets lye.

It is vicissitude, that pleasure yields
 To Men, with greatest wealth and honours blest,
 And sometimes, homely fare, but cleanly drest.

In country Farms, or pleasant Fields,
 Clears up a cloudy brow, and thoughtful breast.

Now the cold Winds have blown themselves a-
 The Frosts are melted into pearly dews; (way,
 The chirping Birds each morning tell the news,
 Of chearful Spring, and welcome day.

The tender Lambs follow the bleating Ewes.

The vernal Bloom adorns the fruitful Trees
 With various drest; the soft and gentle rains,
 Begin with Flowers to enamel all the Plains.

The Turtle with her Mate agrees : Swains.
 And wanton Nymphs with their enamoured

Thou art contriving in thy mind, what State,
 And form, becomes that mighty City best :
 Thy busie head can take no gentle rest,
 For thinking on th'events and Fate,
 Of factious Rage; which has her long oppress.

Thy Cares extend to the remotest Shores,
 Of her vast Empire, how the *Persian* Arms;
 Whether the *Badrians* join their Troops; what
 From the *Cantabrians* and the *Moors*, (harms
 May come, or the tumultuous *German* swarms.

But the wise Powers above, that all things know,
 In fable night have hid the events, and train
 Of future things; and with a just disdain,
 Laugh, when poor mortals here below,
 Fear without Cause, and break their sleeps in vain.
Think

II

Think how the present thou maist best compose
 With equal mind, and without endless Cares,
 For the unequal Course of State Affairs,
 Like to the Ocean, ebbs and flows,
 Or rather like our neighbouring *Tiber* fares.

I 2

Now smooth and gentle thro' her channel creep_s
 With soft and easy murmurs purling down ;
 Now swells and rages, threatening all to drown
 Away both Corn and Cattle sweeps,
 And fills with noise and horror, Fields and Town.

I 3

After a while grown calm, retreats again
 Into her sandy Bed, and softly glides ;
 So *Jove* sometimes, in fiery Chariot rides
 With cracks of Thunder, storms of Rain,
 Then grows serene, and all our Fears derides.

He

14

He only lives content, and his own Man,
 Or rather Master ; who each night can say,
 'Tis well, thanks to the Gods, I've liv'd to day.

This is my own, this never can,
 Like other Goods be forc't or stoln rway.

15

And for too morrow, let me weep or laugh,
 Let the Sun shine, or Storms or Tempests ring,
 Yet 'tis not in the power of Fates, a thing,

Should ne'er have been, or not be safe,
 Which flying time has cover'd with her wing.

16

Capricious *Fortune*, plays a scornful game
 With human things ; uncertain as the Wind :
 Sometimes to thee, sometimes to me is kind.

Throws about Honours, Wealth, and Fame,
 At random, heedless, humerous, and blind.

He's

He's wife, who when she smiles, the good enjoys,
 And unallay'd with Fears of future ill ;
 But if she frowns, e'en let her have her will.

I can with ease resign the toys,
 And lie wrapt up in my own Virtue still.

I'll make my Court to honest Poverty,
 An easy Wife, although without a dowre,
 What Nature asks, will yet be in my power ;
 For without Pride or Luxury,
 How little serves to pass the fleeting hour?

'Tis not for me, when Winds and Billows rise,
 And crack the Mast, and mock the Seamen's cares,
 To fall to poor and Mercenary Prayers :
 For fear, the *Tyrian* Merchandise,
 Should all be lost, and not enrich my Heirs.

I'll rather leap into the little Boat,
Which without flutt'ring Sails shall waft me o'er
The swelling Waves; and then I'll think no more
Of Ship, or Freight ; but change my note,
And thank the Gods, that I am safe a-shore.

HORACE.

HORACE.

Non domus & fundus, non æris acervus & auri.

NOR House, nor Lands, nor Heaps of
Plate, or Gold,

Can cure a Feaver's heat, or Ague's cold ;

Much less a Mind, with Grief or Care oppress :

No Mans Possessions e'er can make him blest,

That is not well himself, and sound at Heart ;

Nature will ever be too strong for Art.

Whoever feeds vain Hopes, or fond Desires,

Distracting Fears, wild Love, or jealous Fires ;

Is pleas'd with all his Fortunes, like sore Eyes

With curious Pictures ; gouty Legs and Thighs

With

VVith dancing; or half dead and aking Ears
VVith Musick, while the Noife he hardly hears.
For if the Cask remains unfound or fow'r,
Be the VVine ne'er fo rich, or fweet, you pour.
'Twill take the Veffel's Taft, and lofe its own;
And all you fill, were better let alone.

TIBUL

TIBULLUS.

Lib. 4. El. II.

TO worship thee, O mighty *Mars*, upon
Thy sacred Calends, is *Sulpitia* gone :
If thou art wise, leave the Celestial Sphere,
And for a while, come down to see her here ;
Venus will pardon ; but take heed her Charms
Make thee not, gazing, soon let fall thy Arms :
VVhen Love would set the Gods on Fire, he flies
To light his Torches at her sparkling Eyes.
VVhate'er *Sulpitia* does, where e'er she goes,
The Graces all her Motions still compose :
How her Hair charms us, when it loosely falls,
Comb'd back and ty'd, our Veneration calls ;

If

If she comes out in Scarlet, how she turns
 Us all to Ashes, though in white, she burns.
Vertumnus so, a thousand Dresses wears,
 So in a thousand, ever Grace appears :
 Of all the Virgins, she deserves alone,
 In *Tyrian* Purple to adorn a Throne ;
 She, to possess, and reap the spicy Fields,
 Gather the Gums, that rich *Arabia* yields ;
 She, all the Orient Pearls, that grow in Shells
 Along the Shores, where the tann'd *Indian* dwells.
 For her, the Muses tune their charming Lays,
 For Her, upon his Harp, *Apollo* plays ;
 May she this Feast for many Years adore,
 None can become, deserve an Altar more.

F I N I S.



